Potted Plants, Padded Banks *Sedulus*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—November 28, 1970, 50 cents

I'd Rather Be Hijacked

Harlan H. Vinnedge

Swing to the Right? —*Ethel G. Romm*

Black English —*Olivia Mellan*

Love That Pap —*John Osborne*

Mark Twain, Grumbler —*John Seelye*

Bridging the Generation Gap

A Conversation with Three Interns

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Would you pay $7.95 for a child's gift that won't be outgrown, broken, worn out, lost or forgotten six months after Christmas?

The name of this unique gift is HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN. It is the most honored, and possibly the most beloved, monthly children's magazine in the world. And, in a day and age when fads in toys and trinkets and clothes appear and vanish almost before you turn around, HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN could be one of the most exciting Christmas presents you will ever give.

For HIGHLIGHTS is not only different from the usual gift; it is different from other children's magazines as well.

Its intent is not only to delight and entertain, but to challenge and teach. The editors are nationally known experts in child psychology and family life; they firmly believe that the growing child finds his greatest pleasure in thinking, creating, and surprising himself and his parents by reaching intellectual heights no one had ever suspected he could.

Eleven times a year, HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN brings its young subscribers good fiction and poetry; authoritative articles on science, music, math, nature, astronomy and famous people; lessons in good manners; craft projects; puzzles, games and just plain fun. Each issue is 42 or more pages long, bound in sturdy tagboard. The pages are attractively and colorfully illustrated; the type is large and easy-to-read. There are no coloring or cut-out pages, for HIGHLIGHTS is meant to become part of each young subscriber's permanent library.

HIGHLIGHTS *appeals to a wide age range:* from tots of 2 who love to listen to its stories and do the simple preparation-for-reading exercises within its pages . . . to 12-year-olds who find the biographies and science articles prime sources for school reports. A special annual Resource/Index issue, coming at the end of each calendar year, organizes each year's 11-issue collection as a reference source, to be turned to again and again as the child's interests and reading ability expand.

HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN is not available on the newsstands, but is sold by subscription only, for the editors feel that part of its value is its continuing program of fresh, imaginative material.

It is sent addressed to the child himself, something all his own in a world where so much seems to be decided by adults. Where there are several children in the family, a single subscription may be shared in several names.

For a relatively small price, HIGHLIGHTS brings your love and remembrance to children you treasure . . . not just at Christmas, but eleven times a year. The contribution HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN can make to a child's development, however, as it reinforces reading as a pathway to pleasure and information, is a gift that will last a lifetime.

This year give the gift that won't be forgotten: give HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN
Special Christmas gift rates: *1 one-year gift (10 issues) $7.95; 2 gifts, $7.50 each; 3 or more gifts, $7.00 each.*

Please send a subscription to HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN as my gift to:

child's name _____ age _____
address _____
city _____ state _____ zip _____
Sign gift card "from _____"
10 • GSZN

child's name _____ age _____
address _____
city _____ state _____ zip _____
Sign gift card "from _____"
10 • GSZN

QR3

your name _____
address, if different from child's _____
city _____ state _____ zip _____
$_____ is enclosed for _____ gifts.

☐ Bill me after January 1st.

(For additional orders, please give us the information on a separate sheet of paper.)

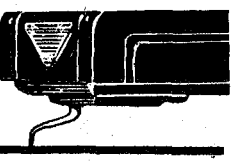
Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded.

HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN
2300 W. Fifth Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43216

• GDZ 45

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waxing verbal



an unprecedented selection of spoken records now available to New Republic readers.

4. IN WHITE AMERICA
Martin Duberman — **$6.98**

7. F.D.R. SPEAKS
Set of 6 LPs — **$7.95**

10. SONGS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR
2 LPs — **$11.90**

15. BERTRAND RUSSELL
Life, Love, etc. — **$6.50**

16. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW
Some of his broadcasts — **$5.95**

19. ULYSSES
Siobhan & McKenna — **$6.50**

21. LANGSTON HUGHES
Simple Stories — **$6.50**

26. ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND
4 LP's — **$6.95**

31. THE LOVE POEMS OF JOHN DONNE
read by Richard Burton — **$6.50**

34. THE INVESTIGATOR
CBC satire on Joseph McCarthy — **$5.98**

38. TOM LEHRER—THAT WAS THE YEAR THAT WAS — **$4.98**

39. MARK TWAIN TONIGHT
Hal Holbrook — **$5.95**

43. UNDER MILKWOOD
Dylan Thomas
2 LP's — **$13.00**

58. BIBLE AND THE SCHOOLS
Justice William O. Douglas — **$4.98**

73. LENNY BRUCE
Berkeley Concert
2 LP's — **$6.95**

79. LAST POETS
Contemporary Negro Poetry — **$4.98**

87. FIRESIGN THEATRE
All Hail Marx and Lennon — **$4.98**

93. FIRESIGN THEATRE
Waiting for the Electrician: or, Someone Like Him — **$4.98**

97. DICK GREGORY
The Light Side: The Dark Side
2 LPs — **$11.95**

121. WAR OF THE WORLDS
Original Radio Broadcast — **$5.95**

127. MALCOLM X
His Wit and Wisdom — **$4.99**

156. MALCOLM X TALKS TO YOUNG PEOPLE — **$4.99**

209. LENNY BRUCE
from Lenny Bruce's private tape stash — **$4.98**

269. BEGATTING OF THE PRESIDENT
by Orson Welles — **$4.98**

270. GINSBERG'S THING
with first party at Ken Keesey's with Hell's Angels — **$4.98**

295. STAN FREBERG'S UNITED STATES OF AMERICA — **$5.95**

377. E. E. CUMMINGS
read by the poet — **$6.50**

403. W. E. B. DuBOIS — **$6.50**

465. EARNEST HEMINGWAY READING — **$6.50**

480. MIKE NICHOLS & ELAINE MAY — **$4.98**

558. MARSHALL McLUHAN
The Medium is The Massage — **$4.95**

625. a. EZRA POUND
SELECTIONS — **$6.50**

b. EZRA POUND
SELECTIONS — **$6.50**

643. LE PETIT PRINCE
Saint-Exupery — **$4.98**

686. SPANISH POETRY
Pablo Neruda — **$6.50**

754. RUSSIAN POETRY
Yevtushenko and Voznesensky — **$5.95**

814. LIVING LANGUAGE RECORDS
French
4-10 inch plus book — **$9.98**

868. DICK GREGORY — **$4.98**

871W. GEORGE WALD
Speech at M.I.T. — **$6.50**

877. YOU'RE A GOOD MAN, CHARLIE BROWN — **$1.99**

878. THE WIT AND WISDOM OF WILL ROGERS 2 LPs — **$13.00**

WAXING VERBAL (New Republic)
1244 - 19th Street, N.W., Dept. WV
Washington, D.C. 20036 TNR1128

Please send the records whose numbers I have circled below.

4	7	10	15	16	19	21
26	31	34	38	39	43	58
73	79	87	93	97	121	127
156	209	269	270	295	377	403
465	480	558	625a	625b	643	686
754	814	868	871W	877	878	

I enclose $_____ plus 30c for postage and handling. (Add 10c for each additional selection.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____

Zip Code_____

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

from Washington

The Crime Men

Ramsey Clark looks like a young professor, J. Edgar Hoover like an old prize fighter; Ramsey Clark is bent steel, Hoover like a wrecker's ball; Clark is married and has two children, Hoover is married to the FBI, and is a bachelor; Clark abhors wiretapping and the death penalty; Hoover favors them, Clark likes plays, Hoover, prizefights. One is 42, the other 75; Clark thinks Hoover "petty," "self-centered," Hoover calls Clark a "softie" and a "jellyfish." Oddly enough their basic preoccupation is the same. Crime.

To John E. Hoover (J. Edgar, to you) crime is crime. He hates it. He hated it when he became director of the politics-ridden FBI in 1924, at the age of 29. He has made the FBI into an efficient, incorruptible, secretive, elite corps, which is plainly headed to becoming a national police force, in fact, if not in name. Crime, to Hoover, is breaking laws. Why people break laws is not his business. He believes crime is caused by permissiveness and by sentimental courts and by softies like Clark. Till a few years ago, Hoover also emphasized Communism; It was to the FBI what the wind is to a kite; it carried it aloft; no Congress has ever cut FBI appropriations. Recently the fear of internal Communism has rather died down, but now there is campus unrest. The 1970 Omnibus Crime Control Act carried a harvest of 1000 additional FBI agents to add to 18,000 already existing.

J. Edgar Hoover is that strange thing in American life, an untouchable. America is cynical, mutable, skeptical; it does not allow many such figures. A Prince of the Church, perhaps; General Eisenhower while he lived; it is hard to think of many others. Hoover stands on a pedestal; Presidents are wary of him; he has served eight of them. If a politician can get Hoover's approval, direct or indirect, or be photographed with the man who, because he missed a fly ball once in a baseball game has a permanently flattened nose like one of those Kremlin leaders that he so much loathes, the politician is unassailable from then on, on the law-and-order issue.

Some people thought Jack Kennedy would fire Hoover. Not a bit of it; he embraced his prestige. Bobbie was Attorney General, and to Hoover it was like putting a civilian in charge of the Pentagon, or a Harry Truman set over Douglas MacArthur. Hoover's mandatory retirement age of 70 came on Jan. 1, 1965 but President Johnson waived it. That was almost six years ago. Now there is a lovely Indian Summer; probably Hoover has never felt more rapport with a President or Attorney General on a no-nonsense crime approach than with Messrs. Nixon and Mitchell.

Hoover's position is so impregnable that when he gets mad at a critic he can say so. He reacted testily when the Warren Commission suggested that the FBI was negligent in not advising the Secret Service that Oswald was in Dallas at Kennedy's assassination. He denounced another critic, Martin Luther King, at a 1964 news conference with women reporters as a notorious liar, and apparently had a wiretap tape on King's private life which blackmailed the Negro leader into subsequent silence. Authorized eavesdroppers have fearsome power. Now in his latest dispute he has taken on Ramsey Clark.

His sensitivity to criticism begins to raise questions. In the past month, 15 FBI agents dropped out of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York because a professor made critical comments about Hoover. Following this, 11 FBI agents dropped out of a course on "Violence in America" at American University here because the professor made some jokes about the Hoover leadership. Satirist Art Buchwald drew a deduction: it was a conspiracy by professors over the country to identify and weed out the disguised FBI agents planted with the beardless, shoeless students as undercover agents. Once the teacher sullied Hoover's name the agents indignantly departed.

People who poke fun at the FBI make Hoover writhe. Ramsey Clark has just written a book, *Crime In America*, and he looks to be a sober, rather a melancholy young man. But he mistrusts Hoover's famous crime clock and jokes about it: "What do we do when we are told there is a murder every 43 minutes and a rape every 19? If that time clock applied to the Virgin Islands, everyone there would be murdered in five years, after having been raped twice."

And he criticizes Hoover: "The FBI has so coveted personal credit that it will sacrifice even effective crime control before it will share the glory of its exploits. This has been a petty and costly characteristic caused by the excessive domination of a single person, J. Edgar Hoover, and his self-centered concern for his reputation and that of the FBI."

Washington shuddered and put its fingers in its ears. The explosion came. The *Washington Post* adroitly had a reporter on hand who got one of Hoover's rare interviews; yes, two hours of it. Ramsey Clark was the worst chief he ever had, Hoover fumed; he was worse than Bobby Kennedy, who wanted more Negro FBI agents. But why should Hoover worry? He could look across Pennsylvania Avenue at the excavation of the enormous new FBI building, a block long, a block and a half wide, to be finished in 1973 or 1974 for $102.5 million, the costliest federal building. The basement corridors will hold the fingerprints of 85 million Americans already collected, and perhaps ultimately the computerized Big Brother files of Justice (civil disturbance), Internal Revenue Service (taxes and gun registrations), Defense (politically active civilian militants) and dozens of others – room for the dossiers of a nation of 200 million; all of us.

But about crime. What causes it? "In every major city in the US," Ramsey Clark says, "you will find that two-thirds of the arrests take place among only about two percent of the population. Where is that area in every city? Well, it's in the same place where infant mortality is four times higher than in the city as a whole; where the death rate is 25 percent higher . . . where education is poorest – the oldest school buildings, the most crowded and turbulent schoolrooms." He goes on and on.

Crime is crime, says Hoover. Crime is social failure, says Clark. And those are the two views in America today; a chasm of difference as awe-inspiring as the Grand Canyon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 163, No. 22, Issue 2918, November 28, 1970. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

5–7 Comment
Least Wanted, Out Gunning, Exit Goodell

8 Expectations in Chile – *William R. Long*

9 Swing to the Right?
– *Ethel Grodzins Romm*

11 Bridging the Generation Gap: A Conversation between Rep. Morris Udall and Three Interns

14 The Nixon Watch: Love That Pap!
– *John Osborne*

15 Black English – *Olivia Mellon*

17 I'd Rather Be Hijacked
– *Harlan H. Vinnedge*

20 Theater – *Stanley Kauffmann*

21 Books – Reviews by *John Seelye, Muriel Haynes*

21 Poem – *Constance Urdang*

27 Television – *Sedulus*

28 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – David Sanford, John Osborne
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Reubena Faulconer
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Least Wanted

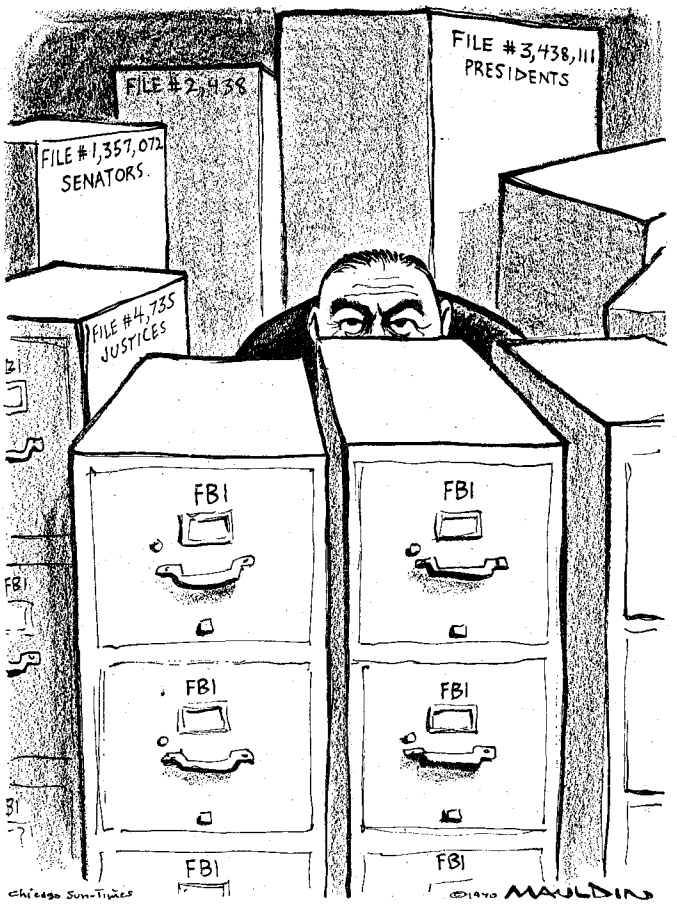
FBI director J. Edgar Hoover has announced that he took a physical in August and "I was in better shape than I was in 1938." That's Hoover himself speaking and, as he has repeatedly assured us during his 46 years as head of the agency, "The FBI never makes recommendations or draws conclusions. We are a fact-finding agency." Draw your own conclusion: 76 next January, Hoover on the basis of his own fact-finding is good for another 32 or more years in charge of this nation's pursuit of the Ungodly. Who *they* are, Hoover decides. Formerly, the most wanted people were Communists. As former Attorney General Ramsey Clark says in his book, *Crime in America*, published last week, the FBI under Hoover "was still making pursuit of the Communist Party its claim to fame long after there was any risk to national security from that source."

But Hoover is a man who believes in keeping pace with . . . well, changing public tastes. Currently, he is in hot pursuit of young radicals: no fewer than nine on his list of the 16 most wanted criminals aren't criminals in the conventional sense at all, they're political ideologues (three of the nine are women). Hoover says he believes these young people are more dangerous than the old-style Dillingers because they're "less experienced" and so apt to blow the head off any person, cop or FBI agent who gets in their way. Skeptics who include other law enforcers have had the nerve to contradict Hoover on the point, and to suggest that the crimes record division of the FBI is also its public relations operation. We seem to recall that whereas the radical Angela Davis went along quietly when she was picked up in New York City, the late John Dillinger wasted not a second in attempting to shoot his way out of an FBI ambush. Seven people on the current FBI list of most wanted are tough criminals with long records, but the nine youthful politicals, wanted for alleged bombings, conspiracy and other ideologically motivated mayhem, are the ones who rouse the personal attention of the FBI chief, who spends a goodly portion of his time directing the public eye to campus disrupters and the like. "That's what knocks 'em dead out in Dubuque," one big-city police official explained to *The Wall Street Journal*. Who really cares all that much that professional criminals with several notches on their guns and axes are at large? Weren't they always? The *new* danger is these kids with shoulder-length hair

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and far-out notions and (maybe) home-made bombs. And, of course, black militants.

Burke Marshall, who was Attorney General Kennedy's civil rights assistant, has been quoted as saying that the FBI and Hoover "deliberately set out to get Martin Luther King, Jr." Hoover has never denied that the FBI tapped the late Dr. King's phone, but said it did so reluctantly, under orders from Kennedy. The truth seems to be that Hoover kept pressing Kennedy and his successors, including Clark (the worst Attorney General in 45 years, says Hoover) to wiretap King right up until two days before the civil rights leader was murdered. Clark calls electronic surveillance "a petty game, far from the arena of criminal activity, and wasting valuable time." He charges that in the organized crime area, from at least the late 1950s until July 1965 (when President Johnson prohibited, by executive order, all wire-tapping without the specific approval of the Attorney General) "hundreds of man-years of agent time were wasted." The tapping secured no convictions. There is strong reason, moreover, to believe that Hoover bugged as well as tapped King. The information obtained was used to suggest that King was guilty, as a black man, of something that Hoover seemed to feel was more heinous even than disloyalty. It was spread around that King indulged himself with white women.



Embattled

If it's true, as one police chief declares, that the FBI's most-wanted criminal list "is not taken seriously by any law-enforcement people outside the Bureau," and that the agency is little better than a self-advertising, self-inflated folly, how does Hoover get away with it? Last week, he supplied part of the answer by tossing a bouquet at John Mitchell: "There has never been an Attorney General for whom I've had higher regard." That is only part of the answer, however. Mr. Hoover has got away with it under Attorneys General for whom he had no respect at all, and who knew it. He's box-office, that's the answer, and he has been box-office longer than anyone else, even John Wayne. He is immovable, if not immutable, like the Washington Monument. He has been around so long that younger people sometimes confuse him with the Hoover who was President, and *this* Hoover sometimes seems to share that confusion. In 1953, the FBI chief didn't hesitate to imply that former President Truman had lied about his bureau. No reprimand was forthcoming from the White House. Hoover has gone his own stern way, and no President has had the wish or guts to bring him in line or retire him. The day after his inauguration, John F. Kennedy invited two of his closest friends to make any recommendations they wished. Both advised: Fire Allen Dulles (then CIA director) and J. Edgar Hoover. The next day, Kennedy reappointed them both. It was smart politics, the pros said. The President very soon came to regret the Dulles reappointment – at the time of the Bay of Pigs. The regrets were slower to arrive in the second instance; but they came and were felt acutely by the President's brother. When Bobby Kennedy pressed him to hire more Negro agents, Hoover taunted the Attorney General by saying that if he didn't like Hoover's point of view or way of doing things, "why don't you get another director?" The FBI chief immediately reported that interchange to President Johnson, who, according to Hoover, said "Stand by your guns." There are 18,000 FBI agents, but the FBI refuses to reveal how many of these are black. It says it is not prepared to let the American public have that kind of information about its set-up. Civil rights never did interest Hoover. In the fifties, he thought it would be unnecessarily inflammatory if the Eisenhower Administration made lynching a federal offense. After three civil rights workers were murdered in Mississippi, in 1964, Hoover went to Jackson and deplored "overemphasis" on civil rights.

When Eugene McCarthy, during his campaign for the Presidential nomination in '68, said that one of the first things he would do if elected would be to fire Mr. Hoover, it was as if the death of God had been announced. But then, sensible politicians always knew that Gene McCarthy was not a "serious" politician; you can fight City Hall once in a while, and win, but you can't beat box-office.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Out Gunning

Just how much impact groups outside the traditional political structure have on the outcome of an election is a question that usually goes unanswered, even in post-mortems. But to Michael J. Parker, a 30-year-old criminal lawyer who played a lead role in organizing Citizens Against Tydings (CAT) 13 months ago, the answer is: enough to beat Senator Joe Tydings.

Parker, whose ground floor office is in the slum-fringed area just down the hill from the nation's Captol is against gun control. He sees it as a "civil liberties issue." (He is a member of ACLU.) "We decided we'd spent enough time talking to Tydings," he told this journal. "We made our feelings on his gun control legislation known to him many times. It gets to the point where letter writing just won't work." That was the point at which Parker and Dr. Constantine P. Chaconas, a dental surgeon, established CAT, in a Route 101 motel.

How big was CAT? "Three or four hundred at the peak period, twice as many over the whole 13 months," Parker says. They passed out 150,000 bumper stickers (the ones that said "If Tydings Wins, You Lose"), mailed out 35,000 brochures, distributed 150,000 brochures, ran 30 full-page ads and four days of radio spots on 26 radio stations. Plus two telephone campaigns. It might have been enough to switch 15,000 votes to Tydings' victorious Republican opponent.

What draws people to something like CAT? Parker insists that many of them were not firearms owners! "Generally, it was a concern for the residuum of our rights. We didn't like to be legislatively declared criminals. A lot of people like to target shoot (Parker does); others are gun collectors. Some of my best liberal friends keep a gun under their pillow at night. They're scared to death they'll be faced by someone the next time we have a riot."

What about financing? "*Gun Week* kept us alive," according to Parker. It's a weekly whose gun-owner subscribers responded to CAT ads with a steady flow of small bills. CAT spent an estimated $50,000 to $60,000, a large percentage of which came from out-of-state contributors in $1 and $5 amounts. "There were only a couple of $1000 contributions," and none, he says, from the National Rifle Association.

Maryland isn't the only place the "gun nuts" have been active. In Pennsylvania in 1968 they claimed the scalp of Democratic Sen. Joe Clark, and top people in Republican Sen. Richard Schweiker's office would be the last to deny them credit. "That fall, all we heard at the factory gates in southwestern Pennsylvania (steelworker country) was guns and Wallace," a Schweiker man says.

Parker is interesting on that point. "We were in a position to move votes the Republican organization couldn't. We moved a whole lot more votes in Montgomery County than the *Washington Post* will ever admit." He recalls a public meeting in Rockville, Maryland that drew 10,000 people to protest a county gun control law. Nor was it limited to white suburban areas: "Around the edges of the Baltimore ghetto you find the lower middle-class civil servants living in their own homes. There are some Negro gun clubs in Baltimore, you know. Those people are just as sensitive as white suburbanites. After all, they'd be the first ones to be hurt by gun control laws."

Exit Goodell

The Administration's purge of Senator Charles Goodell was more intricate than it appeared to the public. Mr. Nixon's machine went into action against the New York senator last February – five days after he became the first Republican senator to oppose the nomination of G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court. At that time, Bernard J. Lasker, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, quietly confronted Goodell in his Senate office and identified himself as an emissary of Vice President Agnew. "Mr. Lasker pursued the possibility of my muting my voice," Senator Goodell recalled later, "and adapting to the Administration politically, and conceivably getting support from the Administration."

After Goodell rejected Lasker's overtures, the stock exchange chairman – encouraged by Mr. Agnew – lobbied against Goodell with New York campaign contributors, later helped raise money for Conservative party candidate James Buckley. Wall Street doors were closed to Goodell. The Administration prevented him from making the politically valuable announcements of federal grants and projects slated for his state – a courtesy customarily extended to congressmen. His staff ran into roadblocks when they tried to deal with lower-ranking Administration officials. These were the first steps of a purge that concluded with Vice President Agnew attacking Goodell as the "Christine Jorgensen" of politics and President Nixon all but openly endorsing Buckley.

The impact of the purge? "I think the President hurt me significantly," says Goodell, who discounts the effect of Agnew's attacks on him. But Administration opposition was only one of several factors contributing to his defeat. "Both Dick Ottinger and I made the mistake of feeling that the other was the prime opponent. We underrated the law-and-order reaction of the voters." Goodell was further battered by Governor Nelson Rockefeller's failure to offer him significant campaign support and by the *New York Daily News*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

straw vote, which showed Goodell running a poor third behind Buckley and Ottinger shortly before the November 3 election.

Though defeated, Goodell gets a last shot at the Nixon Administration in this rump session. While his staff crates up old files and prepares to close down the office, Goodell plans to introduce legislation in five major areas, including health insurance and election reform, and to oppose Mr. Nixon's request for an additional $290 million for ABM. He may resign from the session a few days early and permit Buckley to take over "to give the people of New York State some seniority." Then he will ponder how to pay his $400-thousand campaign debt. He doesn't expect any help from the Republican party.

Nationalist Revolution

Expectations in Chile

Santiago

Chile has a new government administration, and when there is a new administration, the bureaucratic bustle subsides as high officials get used to their new jobs and solidify their plans. This has happened regularly every six years during four decades of uninterrupted Chilean democracy. But because the new government is headed by Socialist President Salvador Allende, captains of commerce and industry have more reason to put off until next month what they could do tomorrow. They will be waiting to find out where they stand.

Allende, a Marxist, and the Communists and other leftists in his ministries, are unrelenting in their criticism of the few who have gotten rich "at the cost of many." The newly empowered politicians promise to nationalize all large companies, including foreign-owned firms and banks. High on the list of foreign interests to be liquidated is the estimated $1 billion investment of US copper companies in the rich Chilean mineral fields.

One Chilean executive in a US-owned can manufacturing firm is among many here who claim that Allende's "Popular Unity" coalition has a blacklist of persons who are to be financially hounded. "I'm not afraid for my safety," the executive says. What he fears is that when his employer is nationalized, he will be kept from getting a job. Hundreds of conservative families fearing persecution – or merely change – have left the country. Others are buying dollars at inflated black market prices in preparation for their exodus.

It seems assured that the new president will "open the door to socialism" in Chile. But only the most excitable anti-marxists believe that Allende wants to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, at least in the first years of his term. "He's going to maintain a full democracy," says the same executive who believes he's on the blacklist. "That's his only chance." If Allende were to step outside of constitutional bounds, there almost certainly would be a violent reaction from the military, which has tolerated his coming to power.

Most of Chile's upper class lives in the shadow of the Andes mountains on the west side of this city of 2.5 million people. Many have surnames that sound prominently in Chilean history; many are taller and fairer than the Chilean masses, and all but a few speak with distinct, private-school accents. They drive most of Chile's private cars, and until now have had most of the best jobs. They are easy to distinguish, dislike, and perhaps hate. Recognizing this, an unknown number of upper-class Chileans has formed a secret militia, which those who admit its existence claim is for protection only.

Meanwhile, in the sprawling lower-class outskirts of Santiago, as well as in other cities, the Popular Unity has formed hundreds of committees that are preparing openly to "defend the popular victory." Most are led by the well-organized Communist Party.

A US Embassy official predicts, however, that aid to Chile – called "the pipeline" by embassy people – will continue. Stopping it "would force them to go elsewhere," which would not suit US purposes, especially in the realm of military assistance. Allende's new air force commander-in-chief has said publicly since his appointment that he "presumes" replacement parts will continue to be available for Chile's US-made warplanes. All of the new Chilean commanders-in-chief are said to be of the conservative military stock that is traditional in South America, and not part of the new left-leaning breed that has emerged in Peru and Bolivia.

After the Chilean congress confirmed Allende's popular election victory, the Chilean press waited for the customary congratulatory telegram from Washington. It didn't come. In the embassy here, Nixon's initial coolness is explained privately as a logical non-response to an "orchestrated attack" against the United States that coincided with Allende's presidential campaign in the leftist press. But it is thought that Chile will try to avoid any further *enfriamiento* in its relations with Washington. "Allende is going to have great economic problems. That's why he wants us."

Allende's forces accuse the "economic right" of trying to sabotage the economy following his election September 4. A fairly heavy bank run did take place, demand for durable consumer goods did drop 30 percent, and private construction was nearly stagnated. The plunge leveled off when Allende promised small and medium-sized businesses would not be national-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ized and all citizens' rights would be respected.

No one doubts that Chile will undergo a dramatic economic transformation. Allende says the draining away of profits by big business – especially foreign investors – will be eliminated by nationalization, leaving large amounts of money for reinvestment. Allende's new ministers are planning large public works projects to employ hundreds of thousands of jobless Chileans. A thorough agrarian reform is planned to give more land to the peasants who work it, and encourage them to produce more cash crops for sale abroad. But skeptics ask: Will Allende be able to put Chile into a steep climb toward development? And what will happen to Chilean democracy in the attempt?

Allende has pledged to respect a redefined bill of rights that currently is being processed by the Congress as a series of amendments to the constitution. One controversial constitutional change proposed in Allende's program would replace the bicameral congress with a single "Assembly of the People," which in turn would appoint a "Supreme Tribunal" to replace the country's present Supreme Court, where vacancies are filled by the other judges presenting Chile's president with five names of lawyers and judges for him to choose from. If such structural changes are not approved by the congress, where Allende's Popular Unity currently controls less than half of the votes, the president will submit them to a plebiscite (his plurality in September amounted to slightly more than a third of the popular votes).

There are many other proposals in the government program that have raised right eyebrows, including ones for fixing rent at 10 percent of a family's income, administering minor justice through neighborhood councils, and putting private school curricula under government control.

Many previously comfortable Chileans predict their country will be carried into a whirlpool of totalitarianism, eventually pulling much of South America in after it. Other Chileans figure they have little to lose. Their miserable living conditions and discouragingly low pay for precarious employment (annual per capita income – $510) lead them to believe what they are told by the government coalition: that half a million of Chile's nine million citizens lack housing, and another half-million live in intolerable shacks: "Imperialist capital and a group of privileged persons who are no more than 10 percent of the population receive half of the national income."

In the coming summer months, poor Chileans may find it hard to see that they are getting anywhere, and the wealthy elite may still be enjoying its opulent leisure, as if nothing had happened. But Chileans of all classes are expecting a deluge of change later. The changes may mean greater economic justice, more opportunity for backward masses, and a new willingness of the labor force to work for development. Or there could be a flood of further economic problems and a progressive erosion of Chile's traditional freedoms. Either way, Chileans of all persuasions predict a *revolucion criolla*, meaning a revolution that is completely Chilean made and 100 percent nationalistic.

William R. Long

Swing to the Right?

The Agnew-Knighted Conservative and the Original Radical-Lib Both Won in Orange County, New York and Lots of Citizens Voted for Both of Them.

I see by the *National Review* that the conservatives are agog and on the face of it, who can blame them? "Make no mistake about it. The election of James Buckley as US Senator from New York *(New York!)* was the most important thing that happened this November 3. . . . Buckley's election . . . did in truth bring into voice and action large sections of the American majority that has long been politically silent and passive."

Buckley's '"American majority" was 39 percent state wide, but in Orange County where I live, he polled 47 percent of the votes, 31,883, with his Republican and Democratic opponents splitting the rest at about 26 percent each. Orange County in California is the one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

county George Murphy won handily this time when he lost the Senate race. Orange County in New York probably would have given him the same plurality had he been on our ballot. Orange County, NY, was part of the old district of the senior Hamilton Fish, 1921-45, in the House *(Martin! Barton! and Fish!)*. Katharine St. George followed almost on the tail of Fish, Sr., for nine terms until the Johnson landslide of 1964. St. George had voted against water pollution control and the Peace Corps; she voted against almost everything Eisenhower proposed – it was whispered that she considered him a dupe. If ever a New York county should embrace the conservative philosophy, ours is the one. Jim Buckley won big here, but before it goes to his head – I hope he gets to talk to Miss Embree Ellison of Bloomingburg.

I was at a table in Thrall Library the day after the election when I met her. She sat opposite, a spinster in her fifties, with what used to be called a well-groomed look. A reporter for the *Times Herald-Record*, the local paper, which had supported Goodell, stopped by and asked whom she had voted for in the Senate race. When she said Buckley, he asked why, and could he take her picture?

"There was something I read or heard about him that I liked," she said, fiddling with her scarf. "The Buckley name had something to do with it." That was all, and that's how it made page 5 the next day. She fussed with her grey hair and wouldn't let him take the picture until she had removed her scarf and arranged herself. When he left, she turned to me, "That wasn't a very good answer I gave him, was it? I suppose I meant to say that I thought he sounded good to me, the few times I've seen him on television, and of course his brother writes so brilliantly in the *Record*. Don't you think so? But that wasn't a very good answer. Oh, dear, and it's going to be in the paper." I said it was as good as a lot of other answers I'd heard – had she picked any other winners? "Well, of course, I did vote for Mr. Rockefeller again. And I did vote for John Dow."

John Dow! It was like a New Yorker saying "Buckley and *Bella Abzug*." By now I've heard "Dow and Buckley" so often it doesn't startle me. But the day after the election, it did. She had voted for the Agnew-knighted Conservative *and* the original Radical-Lib. So had a great many other citizens. Dow, with 32,736 votes had won more votes than Buckley in conservative Orange County, NY.

Dow got into Congress by mistake. In 1964 the Democratic/Liberal parties needed somebody who would run to lose in the forever Republican 27th District. Dow beat St. George in the Johnson landslide. The sacrificial lamb turned out to be superman. He was one of seven lonely congressmen *in 1965* who voted against a $700 million appropriation for Vietnam, and he spent the next two years arguing the futility of the war. He campaigned in 1966 against charges of deserting our boys, undercutting the war effort, aiding the enemy, fostering Communist imperialism. There was also his Don Quixote vote against the appropriation for the House Un-American Activities Committee as it was then called (it passed 358 to 29). Perhaps worst of all was his failure to vote on a bill to prevent the mailing of "obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy, or vile material." Dow won in 1966 by 4608 votes out of 168,186 – 2.7 percent, because the Conservative candidate drew 13,946 votes away from the Republican.

The Republican challenger in '68 was Martin McKneally, former American Legion commander, who came down hard on all the old votes. And he had a new, and many said the telling, issue. Dow had refused to vote for a bill making it a federal crime to desecrate the flag, on the grounds that this was already a crime in 50 states and there were too many laws already. McKneally accused him of fostering disrespect for the flag and coddling dissenters. McKneally beat him by 5855 votes out of 197,761, with the Conservative getting 14,238, about the same as in 1966. If we had had the phrase then, it would have been called a victory for the Social Issues Strategy.

For this present election, McKneally had the Conservative line as well as the Republican one. The 27th District was reapportioned by a Republican legislature, leaving out Dow's own hometown. The race was clearly hopeless for Dow, if for no other reason than that the 14,000 Conservative votes of 1966 and 1968 were now McKneally's. On the issues, there was no more clear-cut election in the land: the classic American Legion conservative vs. the 100 percent liberal.

McKneally lost. Six weeks before the election the Washington *Daily News* broke the story that Rep. Martin B. McKneally of the 27th Congressional District of New York had failed to file his income tax. For ten years he had failed to file it. If "Technicolor" was the word that licked George Murphy in California, "tax dispute" turned the trick here. Miss Embree Ellison was emphatic about it. "I couldn't vote for Mr. McKneally because of the tax thing. That was very, very wrong."

So I said I understood how she could never vote for McKneally because of "the tax thing", but "What about Dow?" "He's a very honest man, I'm told," she said, "and, well, he was a pretty good congressman last time, if you remember."

Whatever Miss Embree Ellison signifies for Jim Buckley, it is not a swing to the right.

Ethel Grodzins Romm

MRS. ROMM *is the author of* The Open Conspiracy, What America's Angry Generation Is Saying, *published this year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bridging the Generation Gap

Every summer since first coming to Congress in 1961, Rep. Morris K. Udall (D, Ariz.) has provided two or more college students with an opportunity to work as "interns" in his Washington office, helping with everything from major legislation to stuffing envelopes. In the course of discussions this past summer, he asked them a series of questions. What follows is an edited summary of their conversation. – THE EDITORS

UDALL: As I read my mail, I find in some cases what amounts to a sense of betrayal being felt by many adults. They can't understand why so many young people are so "turned off" by the very system which has made it possible for them to have advantages of financial security, access to education, and a range of opportunities far beyond those available to any past generation.

INTERN 1: You have to define who are the young people who are being turned off. When you look, you will find that they are white, mid-to-upper-class students. That constitutes a very small portion of the total population of what you call the young. These people are totally rejecting the life styles they see as favoring one socio-economic group. These students want to change the very society that creates these inequities. The consequence is that they develop what scholars refer to as an "identification with the lowly." What I mean by this is that these people feel guilty that they have had the highest standard of living ever. They feel guilty because while they are enjoying this highest standard of living, American Indians are starving and black ghettos are overrun by rats. What they see is that in America, home of that "glorious dream," all sorts of people are *starving*. This goes on while they eat steak every day. Their sense of moral indignation can't stand this; and they realize that the blame rests on the shoulders of their class. But then this strange identification with the lowly occurs. Their "heroes" are oppressed so they want to be oppressed. Their "heroes" are poor so they want to live a nonmaterial life.

INTERN 2: None of us would deny that living in America has made possible the extraordinary education and material advantages we've been favored with. But that does not mean that everything is right with this country, or that because we personally have been treated so well we should mute our dissatisfaction with some of the things going on around us. The anger and concern of youth is not merely directed at the war, although most students believe that what we are doing in Vietnam in support of what amounts to a petty dictatorship is an absurd waste of lives and an orgy of destruction. . . . Advantages and all, I still can't tolerate the richest country on earth allowing migrant children to grow up thinking they are "bums," and letting slum children be bitten by rats in their sleep, while the government gives money to farmers *not* to grow crops, and appropriates funds for a supersonic transport which could damage our environment, and an anti-ballistic missile system which may be obsolete by the time it's installed. I should think that would be enough to turn *anybody* off!

INTERN 3: All that I would like to add is that students are not the only segment of youth which is questioning the country's progress. There are 40 million young people between 14 and 24. Some have been disenchanted from the American dream since birth.

UDALL: But why is it, do you think, that some of our young people, particularly students who are the best educated, feel that their only recourse in the face of such problems is to riot or to engage in other forms of mindless violence?

INTERN 3: On my campus, I don't think more than 50 out of 12,000 students participated in violence, and that's less than 1/2 of 1 percent. But it *is* time that we start making a distinction between violent protestors, nonviolent protestors, and innocent bystanders. This distinction should be made both in speech and in action. And I think it is time that we realize that innocent bystanders do exist – they may be your children. When I walk from my dormitory to the library, I have the right to do that. I am an innocent bystander of any action which goes on during the course of my walk. When I walk in a national park, I do not want to be stopped, questioned, treated rudely – just because I am 22 and someone else is 45. If a person participates in a nonviolent protest which is illegal, he is subject to arrest or fine. But I don't want to see him beaten over the head and perhaps have his brain scrambled for the rest of his life.

Concepts of overkill just encourage the violent dissidents and force nonviolent dissidents into another realm. Overkill is what is happening in this country. I am getting tired of the paranoia and hate reflected by policemen, students, parents. No one is the sole possessor of right. Let's face it – just because a man is a policeman does not mean he is automatically good or that he is automatically bad. All youth aren't sweet and innocent. Fine. But we'd better start making the distinction, and we'd better listen when there are grievances on both sides.

INTERN 2: We ought to start asking why violence occurs instead of merely condemning rioters out of hand. If we can make our social and political institutions more responsive to human needs, the causes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of violence will be uprooted.

UDALL: Isn't there some validity to the charge that the complaints of youth are often presented in a very moralistic way, which makes it appear that they believe that their elders don't judge actions by any moral standard? If so, isn't this a bit arrogant?

INTERN 1: I definitely don't think so. I think the basic arrogance lies with the people who can only relate events to the money in their pockets. People criticize the antiwar student for saying the war is immoral because the US napalms children, and so forth. This doesn't affect the older generation. The only thing that will make them indignant is when the war starts costing them more in taxes. That's arrogance!

INTERN 3: Sometimes I feel that youth doesn't express its beliefs in the most effective manner for sympathetic understanding. However, I don't think that the term "arrogance" can be applied to most of the young. Most have simply been taught two things in America. One, that independent thinking is good. Two, that the independent thinking should follow certain ideals. For example, we have been taught that killing is wrong, that all men are entitled to the same rights, that somehow we have a responsibility to our neighbors, that the laws should apply equally. In a recent CBS poll 76% of the adults questioned – three out of four – said that citizens should *not* be allowed to organize protests against the government, even if there appears to be no danger of violence. Yet our constitution guarantees the right of the people peaceably to assemble. Perhaps we have been too carefully taught that in a very selfish way we must preserve the right of the minority to speak – if only because some day we may be in the minority. In our independent thinking we have determined that America has not lived up to its ideals. And further, I suppose, many believe that if those ideals do not become a workable reality, the world will come apart. Literalness, not arrogance, may be the fault of youth.

UDALL: Young people can force us to take another look at things to see if changes can't be made. But it's been my observation that many young people expected to end the war in Southeast Asia by a single moratorium or to save the environment between Earth Day and commencement. I've found, to my dismay at times, that the work of social renewal is tougher than that. I wonder if we can take the efforts of young activists seriously when much of what they do seems to show a transient interest rather than a continuing willingness to expend the effort necessary for real change.

INTERN 2: I think your criticism is largely justified. When the time has come for hard work and research, and the enthusiasm has died down, a lot of students involved in the initial protest seem to have disappeared. And that is unfortunate. But students were the first to start the civil rights "sit-ins" and similar protests as far back as *ten* years ago – and yet even today they are often almost alone when they march against the war or fight pollution, and that's enough to disillusion anybody. I can recall public hearings on air pollution where hardly anyone in the room was over 30. The apathy and unconcern of many adults is not exactly the thing that encourages their children to keep trying.

Students are often criticized for not taking responsibility, but when they seek to influence changes in areas where they are affected, whether on the campuses or in the political system, they are often ignored. I find it very difficult to understand, for instance, why there is so much reluctance to allow students to participate in meetings of college boards of trustees or regents, or to let them be involved in the choosing of new university presidents. Young people, simply because they are fresh upon the scene, are bound to contribute something new to a discussion, or notice something that would never have occurred to their elders. Students at the University of Arizona have already done marvelous work in helping make curriculum improvements, in developing new programs to orient freshmen, and in establishing procedures for handling disciplinary cases. And they've added something to every university-wide committee they've been on. Yet the state's Board of Regents doesn't want the student body presidents to have a dialogue with the board for a mere half hour at their monthly meeting! It's true that a lot of students have "copped out" when their particular cause was no longer glamorous, but by the same token a lot of adults have turned a deaf ear to students even when they have made intelligent proposals and were begging to be heard.

UDALL: But aren't the bitterness, anger, resentment, and desperation of many young people counter-productive? I mean, not only because they have a negative effect on others whose help will be needed, but because they are in some cases a substitute for hard work to correct these wrongs?

INTERN 3: To say that sometimes these emotions are counter-productive does not eliminate the fact that they exist. We are the first generation to be taught of the possibility that this world could be blown up for the sake of one man's conception of honor. We are the first generation that has been told that world famine is a real possibility within a decade. We are the first generation to be told that the earth cannot sustain unlimited life. And we've got the privilege of probably seeing it all in living color on our TV sets! We are the first generation that has been told that man has the ability to make it impossible for his species to breathe.

Yes, I get angry. I got angry when I went to New York and found the air stifling. I'm lucky, though! I could leave. Most of the people in New York cannot ever go away on the weekend to escape the choking air. They can't afford it. I get angry when people talk only about the *American* deaths in Vietnam. Some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of those Americans were my friends. Yet in that war we may have made the place safe against attack only to leave behind thousands of Vietnamese civilian graves – and a land so destroyed by bombing and defoliant activity that it may not be able to support the survivors. Have we destroyed Vietnam in order to save it? I wonder. I get angry when people talk as if we could afford to have a "next war."

I'm sorry to say that most of your optimism is not shared by young people. Many feel that they have neither the time nor the power to determine whether our world is going to be here. To be sure, many of our generation will limit the size of our families to two children. But other people of my age, getting married now, have seriously considered not having any children at all – and not for reasons of overpopulation. Rather, they think there won't be a world suitable for any limited pursuit of happiness. A child is the greatest and most beautiful commitment to the future that exists. Yet some young people are willing to deny themselves children – and their parents grandchildren, I might add. Why? Many of my generation don't believe there is much of a future left.

UDALL: This kind of pessimism is very distressing to me. I think this human race still has a great untapped potential, and you people are proof of this. One of the things that troubles me most is the current lack of understanding between young and old. Isn't it likely that there are no absolute answers, and that we are all captives to a certain degree of our own backgrounds, needs, and experiences? How do we bridge the gap?

INTERN 2: I agree we'd better do something about the growing mistrust and misunderstanding between the generations, and do it in a hurry. One sign that went up after the Kent State tragedy read, "National Guard 4, Kent State Students 0." The same people who have always yelled "Communist" at anything they didn't understand are now blaming students for all the world's ills. We've got to do something about that kind of ignorance and hatred before it tears the country apart. The young and old should be teaching each other, because each generation has a level of experience that the other has not had and should benefit from. But instead we seem to be condemning one another out of hand, staring at each other as if we were enemies and forgetting that it's our parents or our children that we're talking about.

Young people can do their share to bridge the gap, by curbing their self-righteousness and remembering that they are certainly not going to be always right. I still find myself learning things from my parents, just as I hope I teach them something once in a while. We ought to speak in a language our elders can understand, and lower our voices so they can hear us. And when we are particularly impatient and perceive our elders as slow to catch on, we ought to temper that impatience by asking ourselves what *our* kids will think of us when *we're* fifty.

A lot of people have the mistaken idea that young people want everything done just their way. That's just not true. What students *do* want is the opportunity to be listened to, the right to participate. That's why it's so urgent for my parents' generation to treat young people as intelligent and valuable members of our society, whether in the home or on the college campus, or in a governmental agency. I might add that older people do a great deal of damage when they ridicule students who are merely exercising their right of dissent or peaceful protest.

UDALL: I suppose, too, that differing life styles add to the problem. As I travel around Southern Arizona, talking to all kinds of people, I find that many of them have no sympathy for the ideas and reforms suggested by the young, simply because they say that it's hard to believe that young people are idealistic or serious when they insist on trying to shock older people. They look at young people's long hair, different styles of dress, use of language. And they wonder if all these things aren't better indications of young people's attitudes toward society than all their demands for improvement.

INTERN 1: Adults make a false assumption that long hair and unconventional dress are designed to shock older people. You talked about arrogance earlier; there is nothing more arrogant to me than someone who discriminates against other persons because of the length of their hair or style of dress. Just because a kid smokes marijuana doesn't mean that he is a revolutionary. What is important is that a growing number of students are becoming totally dissatisfied with the entire social and political functions of this society. They are looking for something new, they are experimenting with new modes of life. The hair, the clothes, they are all part of the investigation.

INTERN 3: I don't think it is right to say that all young people dress the way they do, or act the way they do, to shock older people. Older people don't wear crew-cuts to shock me.

We are all victims of generalizations – generalizations gone wild. One young person may have long hair because he just likes it – and he may be more conservative politically than his parents. But if long hair *is* a way of identifying with change today, I see nothing wrong with this. Symbolic identifications of this kind *can* be divisive, of course, but I don't think they have to be.

I *am* concerned by the utter hate, distrust, lack of most basic civilities on all sides. Foul language, many young people feel, is far more honest than the language of the deceptive diplomat who may say "equality" – and mean the exact opposite. We are dealing with people, not pigs, not bums. I cannot ask anyone to abandon symbols, but I can ask him to abandon the symbols which convey inaccurate messages – like "I'm somehow better than you are."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nixon Watch

Love That Pap!

Mr. Nixon's reported opinion that the mid-term election results amounted to an enormous ideological success for him and the Republican Party and practically assured his reelection in 1972 was dominating the news, and was being ridiculed by many pundits, when I decided that it was up to me to save the President from his folly. Surely, I told various underlings to tell their bosses at the White House and the federal departments, the pap that was being attributed to him and fed to the press by some of his assistants and political advisers did not represent Mr. Nixon's actual view of the results. Surely this President – this "master politician" – could not really believe that a net loss of eleven Republican governorships and nine Republican seats in the House of Representatives, and a net gain of two or at most three Senate seats in a year when 25 Democratic seats were contested, added up to the victory that he himself had rather hesitantly claimed in California on the day after the election and was said to be claiming, in the most glowing and positive terms, in later sessions with his Cabinet, with his White House assistants, and with selected columnists. If I was right in assuming (I said) that this was in large part contrived nonsense, understandably intended to counter the general impression that the President and his party had emerged from the election with, at best, a result somewhere between a standoff and a defeat, I'd be glad to report as much and so do my bit toward restoring Richard Nixon's political credibility.

The consequences were educational. Only Attorney General John N. Mitchell, among the Nixon advisers and assistants who were thus approached, refused to discuss the matter. He sent word that he wasn't about to talk politics and discuss the election results with any reporter just then. The others, Cabinet members and White House assistants alike, said as in one voice that the only pap involved was my supposition that Mr. Nixon did not really believe what he said he believed and was said by others to believe. He really had told his Cabinet and staff, as *Time* reported, that "the election, ideologically, was enormously successful" and that "you can give your friends in the press odds on the Presidential success in 1972." He actually was saying in private, and convincing those to whom he said it that he really believed, that the election outcome guaranteed him "a working majority of four" and "an ideological majority of six" in the Senate on the defense and foreign policy issues that he considered critical.

Some of his most intimate associates and advisers said they believed that he believed, as he said publicly in California and continued to say privately in Washington and Florida, that "the majority has spoken, the real majority in this country" in support of him and of his major policies, foreign and domestic. The same associates said they had yet to hear the President utter one word of regret or give the slightest indication of second thoughts about his own performance in the final three weeks of the campaign – a performance that, in its carefully designed conjunction with that of Vice President Agnew, had seemed to me and others to demean him and the Presidency and to diminish both his capacity for national leadership and his chances of reelection in 1972.

The history of a postelection document distributed to the press and to many politicians by Counsellor Robert H. Finch did more than anything that Finch and other Nixon associates said to convince me that the Nixon pap is not, in the President's actual view, pap at all but gospel truth. The document consisted of a letter signed by Finch and his "expanded notes" from what he had heard the President say to the Cabinet, to the White House staff, and to a group of nine columnists. Finch stated in the letter his "inescapable conclusion" that "the President's campaign activity was clearly among the decisive factors" and that "at the national level the Administration was clearly endorsed and the campaign a clear success." The notes, which were intended to be read as a summary of the President's views and language, set forth in detail the argument that the election results gave Mr. Nixon his "working majority" in the Senate and presaged victory in 1972 on the strength of peace abroad, order and prosperity at home. Finch suggested to the President, and Mr. Nixon authorized, the preparation and distribution of the letter and notes. Finch took rough drafts with him to Florida, where he and other assistants conferred with the President on November 7, and left copies for review by the President and by H. R. Haldeman, the Nixon chief of staff. Haldeman telephoned Mr. Nixon's final okay to Finch in Washington and suggested a few changes. Herbert Klein, the President's Director of Communications, sent out the approved version on White House stationery, completing a sequence which should remove any doubt that Mr. Nixon not only wants it known and believed that he perceives a genuine victory in the results but takes a major share of credit for it.

The claim of immediate victory, 1972 prospects aside, rests mainly upon Mr. Nixon's reading of the Senate results. His reading differs drastically from that of several incumbent Republican senators. Robert Packwood of Oregon, who rates himself a Nixon loyalist, compared the Republican opportunities with the results and found the outcome "a disaster." Mark Hatfield of Oregon, hardly a loyalist in the Packwood sense but still a sound Republican, said in post-election speeches that Nixon and Agnew had wrongly di-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vided the country with their campaign rhetoric and tactics and were heading the party toward defeat in 1972.

Packwood and Hatfield were among 19 Republican senators who denounced the Nixon-Agnew rejection of Republican Senator Charles Goodell in New York and did what they could, in protest, to avert his defeat by Conservative James Buckley, one of Mr. Nixon's assumed "ideological majority." A key figure in that same supposed majority, Democrat Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, rushed up to Washington to declare in a press conference and (he said) to tell Mr. Nixon in private that he proposed to function in the Senate as a member of "the loyal opposition," with no blank checks promised or given to the President. Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, one of the Republican victors on whom the President counts, voted as a representative against the President on two of three significant defense and foreign policy issues in the current session and scored nine out of twelve on the liberal side in this journal's rating of the present Congress. The facts are that the Senate Republicans are still a minority, that some of them are as ready now as they have been in the past to oppose the President on critical issues, and that the claim of a "working" and "ideological" majority in a Senate controlled by partisan Democrats is wishful balderdash.

The Nixon view of the election results is related to what the President thinks has been happening to the country since he took office. He genuinely believes, his associates say, that his "real majority . . . the great silent majority" has taken effective charge and that he has established himself with that supposed majority as its surrogate. His attitude of cold disdain toward last year's antiwar protesters, tempered by a limited show of toleration early this year, is thought at the White House to have accomplished a major victory for orderly policy processes over those who hoped to prevail by disorder. The simultaneous effort, personified and led by Vice President Agnew, to identify the President's liberal critics and opponents, in both parties, with the disorderly and, to Mr. Nixon's majority, the most repellent elements in American society, is believed by men who presumably reflect his beliefs to have succeeded to a degree and in ways that are imperfectly reflected in the election results but nevertheless justify his optimistic view of the basic trends. A further assumption at the White House is that all of this is quite obvious to the legislators, Republican and Democratic, and particularly to the senators with whom the President will be dealing in the next Congress. The President's purpose in the recent campaign, the purpose to which he specifically assigned Spiro Agnew, was to promote the identification of himself and of his policies with the public yearning for peace-and-order and to carry forward the process, already well begun, of identifying his opposition – the Vice President's "radical liberals"—with disorder. If the President believes, as he is said to believe, that he has in fact assured himself of an "ideological majority" in the Senate and, by implication, in the country at large, he has to believe that this cynical and ruthless campaign of "constructive polarization" (Agnew's phrase) succeeded in 1970 and will succeed again in 1972.

John Osborne

Why Try to Eradicate It?

Black English

by Olivia Mellan

Our melting pot myth is being shattered as black separatism grows in favor and fact. Many blacks do still emulate the values of white society, but many don't, and they resent attempts to assimilate them into a "majority culture." While "black culture" cannot be neatly defined and isolated (nor can "white" or "American" culture), both blacks and whites are becoming increasingly aware of marked differences in styles of

Miss Mellan *is a doctoral candidate in French at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, and has special interest in urban linguistics.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dress, behavior patterns, values and attitudes, and these are mirrored in speech as well as "culture." This new awareness is reflected in the charge of "cultural fascism" that is being levied at traditional English classes, where "Standard English" is taught to blacks and their nonstandard "Black English" is frowned upon.

Those who object to our long-standing efforts to eradicate Black English, claim that it harms the black child, brands the speech he has used since childhood as defective and by inference slurs the black culture that speech expresses. The child often accepts these judgments, disparaging his own language and culture in the same way whites do. Or, the child turns his back on school, English class in particular, and all that goes with a white-oriented teaching system.

Aside from its psychological effects, "eradicationism" is under attack for another reason: it doesn't seem to be working. At least that's the conclusion of many educators who have been trying to teach black children to read and to speak "white English," and of many linguists. One such is Joan C. Baratz, co-director of the Washington-based Education Study Center, who writes of "the nationwide failure of so many black children to learn to read." The remedy Dr. Baratz and co-director William Stewart prescribe is to teach the black child to read nonstandard Negro English first, "starting where the child is" instead of where he should be. They are convinced that if we ignore the specific language the black child speaks, we block the successful teaching of Standard English, either written or spoken.

Wayne O'Neil, MIT linguistics professor and education lecturer at Harvard, has a similar objection to standard pedagogy. "Traditionally, schools have understood that part of their task is to get students to speak and write properly, where 'properly' is defined by whatever it is that characterizes the language of the middle class," he writes. "They have not been successful in this endeavor. A few individuals assimilate proper speech ways, but most go on speaking, a bit nervously after their school experience, the way they would have had schools never been invented, just as they go on avoiding the plays and books and art that schools concern themselves with – a bit nervous about that, too."

Linguists who have studied the vocabulary and syntax of Black English find it to be a "separate but equal"-ly valid language system, with a highly developed structure if its own. Among the list of syntactic (grammatical), phonological (pronunciation) and lexical (vocabulary) features which distinguish Black English from Standard, there are syntactic features which resemble creole, or African languages. One such is the distinction between "he working" (meaning he is working right now) and "he be working," (meaning he is working continuously). This distinction is not present either in white nonstandard dialects or in Standard English. To skeptics who question whether Black English is a separate "language" or merely a substandard "dialect of English," linguists explain that "language" and "dialect" are two points on a continuum, moving from "dialects" (two speech systems which are relatively close in syntax, vocabulary and historical development) to "languages" (where the differences begin to outweigh the similarities). For most linguists, it is irrelevant whether Black English is "language" or "dialect." It functions as a communication system.

The eradicationist school has many defenders, however, with Kenneth B. Clark, the black psychologist and educator one of the strongest among them. Clark maintains that Standard English is the only language that should be taught in school, and that no attempt should be made to preserve native dialects, except perhaps as "exotic primitives." He accuses those who would preserve Black English of consigning blacks to perpetual inferiority by implying that they cannot be absorbed into the mainstream of American society. And some black parents agree with him. That is what they mean when they say, "Teach my child good English. Don't tell me he can't learn it just like whites do."

Those who see eradicationism as psychologically harmful and educationally inefficient are persuaded there are better alternatives. One of these comes from the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, and it's called "bidialectalism" or "biloquialism." It begins by assuming that the black child *should* be taught Standard English, since that is what he needs to function in present-day America. But the biloquialists insist that the child's Black English should be respected, and that it can and should be preserved for appropriate surroundings such as home and playground.

The critics of biloquialism say that it is a disguised racist view, no better than overt eradicationism, and that it would still perpetuate social inequalities, forcing blacks to become "abnormal whites" in order to get ahead. Thomas Kochman, a linguist at Northeastern Illinois State College, attacks the whole concept of social mobility, terming it an improper motivation rather than a sacred value. Even blacks who do learn Standard English, he contends, will not find, that their "improved" speech patterns make it any easier for them to win jobs, better salaries or social acceptance.

Biloquialism has also come under attack from black militants and black parents, and for two contradictory reasons. Some are against it because they believe it less effective than the tried-and-true eradicationist approach in getting a child to speak "good English" all the time. Others attack it because they resent *any* attempt, however modified, to force the language of white society upon blacks. Ironically, critics at both poles have called the biloquial approach racist.

Nevertheless, the professionals who advocate biloquialism are optimistic about its future, because it would work and because most blacks would want it to work. Teaching materials to make it a classroom reality are being developed. One recently completed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

set of materials and tapes, entitled "English Now," by Irwin Feigenbaum, has just been put out by New Century in New York. Contrasts between Black English and Standard are offered to help the black child master certain Standard English features which "interfere" linguistically with his native dialect. Drills juxtaposing "he work hard" and "he works hard," for instance, are used to reinforce Standard English patterns. The materials are being tested in a North Carolina school system, and will be used in Pontiac, Mich.

In a different vein, a sizable group of white teachers in urban schools has for the past two years been learning black language and exploring black culture in a course called "American Negro Dialect," at Columbia Teachers College. According to William Stewart, the professor since the course's inception, demand for this kind of training is steadily rising.

But biloquialism is not the only alternative to eradicationism. There are linguists who want to bridge the linguistic gap by focusing on the white rather than the black child. Instead of "enriching the lives of urban [black] children by plugging them into a 'second dialect' [Standard English]," Wayne O'Neil asks, "why don't we . . . enrich the suburban kid with an urban dialect?" Ideally, this might "eradicate the language prejudice," the language mythology that people grew into holding and believing."

O'Neil's theory remains untested and is supported by relatively few linguists and sociologists. However, the experts do agree that biloquialism and the O'Neil suggestion could complement one another. Roger Shuy, Sociolinguistics Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics and a special consultant to HEW, thinks that a combined program might not only help blacks learn Standard English, but "might be the best method to sucessfully reorient attitudes toward language so that eradication of nonstandard dialects will no longer be necessary."

One place to start is in experimental English classes in progressive elementary or secondary schools. Through drills in the two dialects, supplemented by discussions of language contrasts, students would add to their knowledge of both language and cultural differences. A course of this kind is bound to be more interesting, in the beginning at least, than are most English classes today – less apt to turn blacks *and* whites off than "Standard English" pedagogy. Of course there would be problems. White parents would have to be convinced that their children should study Black English and culture. Critics like Kenneth Clark probably would dismiss it as a wasteful expenditure of time and money in pursuit of a dubious goal. But in a time of racial polarization, a dual approach to language would offer one advantage: an opportunity for continuing dialogue between blacks and whites who still want to talk to each other with mutual respect.

Congress in the Pilot's Seat

I'd Rather Be Hijacked

by Harlan H. Vinnedge

The only fortunate aspect of the Arab hijackings early last September was the timing. Congress had adjourned for Labor Day. By mid-month, the senators and representatives were making up for lost time, introducing some 50 bills and filling the pages of the *Congressional Record* with statements and editorials deploring hijacking and insisting that someone do something. They drew the analogy to the Barbary pirates and blamed it all on conspiracies hatched in Peking or Havana or somewhere.

The historical analogy might be useful if it were valid. The Barbary pirates were after money. It could be demonstrated to them that the penalties they faced as pirates were higher than the rewards they could seize or extort, so they quit being pirates. They didn't really; they found weaker victims. The important point is that these men were pirates because it paid well, not for any political motive. Many of the congressional statements referred to Jefferson's treatment of the pirates with the clear inference or absolute suggestion that the United States should do it again. A senator

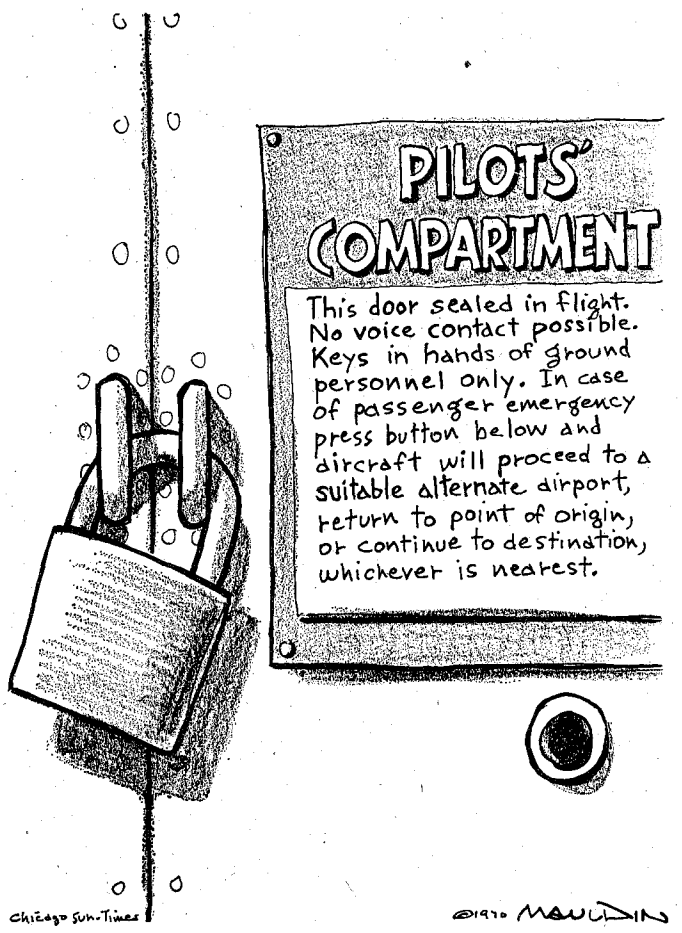
---

Mr. Vinnedge *is a computer programmer. His most recent article for* The New Republic, *"Let's Hear it for Pollution (If It's in Asia)" appeared October 17.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could say, "The first thing to do would be to call upon Jordan to capture and punish those lawless people there and to serve notice on them that if those terrorists should kill any people, every one of that batch of assassins will be killed and strung up by their heels until the flies eat their flesh." The same senator suggested a method for thwarting hijackings of planes on the ground: lock the crew in the cabin, and jettison the fuel. Fortunately the congressmen making such suggestions knew no one would take them seriously, since they were only speaking for the *Record*. But the record of what they did is not much better. The 50-odd bills calling for international sanctions, the corruption of blood, and the provision of guards and detection devices, languish in committees alongside their predecessors from earlier years.

The imposition of sanctions, to be established through bi-or multilateral agreements or international conventions, is the most common feature of these bills and resolutions. Details are left to the President, although a number of resolutions require a progress report from him within six months of their enactment. It has taken the House Foreign Affairs Committee more than six months to begin hearings on the oldest of these resolutions. Unless there is an international convention, 70 bilateral agreements regulating the traffic of 21 US flag carriers operating into 119 foreign countries and territories and approximately 150 foreign carriers under 50 flags serving the United States would have to be amended.


PILOTS' COMPARTMENT
This door sealed in flight. No voice contact possible. Keys in hands of ground personnel only. In case of passenger emergency press button below and aircraft will proceed to a suitable alternate airport, return to point of origin, or continue to destination, whichever is nearest.
Chicago Sun-Times
©1970 MAULDIN

Air travel, 1971

Initially, under the sanction system, the United States would stop US flag flights into a country which aided or failed to extradite hijackers and would refuse landing rights to carriers of that country. If third party countries continued flights into the sanctioned country, US flag flights into such countries and their landing rights in the United States would be terminated. This procedure becomes unworkable when regional airlines such as SAS become involved. Several hijackings from East European countries have terminated on the Danish island of Bornholm. In each case, the hijackers have been granted political asylum in Denmark, rather than being extradited. If the United States followed the sanctioning procedure – stopping flights to Denmark and withdrawing the landing rights of SAS – Norway and Sweden, the other participants in SAS, would also be affected by a Danish decision over which they have no control. The fair treatment of third party countries in this case is also difficult to establish. If, for example, Lufthansa stopped flights into Denmark but continued service to Norway and Sweden, should their landing rights in the United States be withdrawn? Some of the sanction bills go a step further, applying sanctions against individual citizens. If a state refused to extradite or aided hijackers, no citizen of that state could be carried on any US flight of any kind. Ramp agents at local airports would have to be prepared to check the citizenship of all prospective passengers before a flight could be boarded.

Responsible spokesmen for the airline industry have suggested that boycotts are probably not the answer to hijacking. A vice president of the Air Transport Association, Mr. Clifton F. von Kann, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "We must emphasize, however, that such a program must be undertaken jointly and unequivocally by all nations concerned. Unless it is virtually complete and therefore fully effective it should not be undertaken." The congressional reaction to Mr. von Kann's statement was more resolutions calling for primary and secondary boycotts, although they may never be fully effective since air traffic is so closely related to a nation's foreign policy. In the Aeroflot hijackings to Turkey, could the United States institute or even participate in a boycott which might result in Turkey's withdrawal from NATO?

Some resolutions even create a new reason for hijacking. To conform with existing extradition policy on political asylum, they specify that hijackers returned under amended extradition agreements can only be tried and punished for the hijacking offense. Although current hijacking laws provide sentences ranging from 20 years to death, only eight of 39 hijackers who have been tried in the United States have received more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than 20 years. With this type of agreement hijacking might offer a reasonable alternative to a man facing a long sentence.

Another set of resolutions directs the President to implement as rapidly as possible his seven-point anti-hijacking program, which became effective on September 11 when it was announced. The resolutions, which were introduced after that date, also remain in committee.

These actions were taken, partly, to bring pressure on the Arab World, and Jordan in particular, to do something about the Palestinian hijackers. But the methods suggested ignore the historical development of air service in this area. International air traffic in West Asia began its modern development at the close of the Second World War. If air service was to be established from Europe to India and beyond, it was necessary to acquire landing rights in West Asia because the planes then in use had limited range. The Arab League, however, took the position that economic development, including air service, should be undertaken by the Arab States. As a result of pressure brought by Western airlines, the needed landing rights were obtained. With this background, a response to a boycott could be – Fine, we'll cut off your oil.

At any rate, the resolving of problems of this nature by bills or resolutions has not been successful. Rep. Roman Pucinski, on July 20, 1968, introduced a motion expressing the sense of Congress regarding an international convention on hijacking. Before it could be adopted, his resolution required a report from the State Department, which was delivered to the Foreign Affairs Committee on October 14, the day the 90th Congress adjourned *sine die*. Resolutions proposing economic sanctions have not fared any better. The 90th Congress had 56 such resolutions, dealing with sanctions against Rhodesia, under consideration for more than a year without any action being taken.

The proposed additional excise tax to cover the cost of armed guards is the only bill which has cleared either house. If the Senate approves it, the excise tax on airline tickets will be raised by about six percent and the head tax on passengers by $2. The total cost of the guards would be paid by passengers, even when flying on lines that do not have or have refused guards, not by all users of the airlines. This is a rare instance in which a special class of citizens has been selected to pay the cost of the protection the government is obliged to offer. No tax was assessed against the merchant navy to cover the costs of the punitive expeditions against the Barbary pirates. When US marshals and troops have been called out, the costs have been shared by all citizens, rather than only by those immediately involved. Insurance rates for planes carrying armed guards may be lower, yet this subsidy is to be paid by the passengers not the airlines, and the air cargo shippers pay nothing at all.

Even if a more equitable method for paying the cost of armed guards is found, it does not alter the fact that the presence of armed guards is inherently dangerous. A summary of aircraft hijackings during the last 40 years, appearing in the *Congressional Record*, shows the only instances in which there have been injuries or fatalities involving anyone but the hijackers have been when overt action has been taken against the hijackers. The British Air Line Pilots Association has taken the position that none of its members will fly planes carrying guards, recommending the use of closed circuit TV instead. There is historical justification for this. The Lockheed Constellation, used in international service after the Second World War, had an engineering problem with the navigator's astrodome that caused it to fracture under certain conditions. One such accident occurred in March of 1947 when a navigator and all his equipment were blown through a fractured astrodome. The quick action of a purser was required to prevent a stewardess from also being lost as the cabin air escaped through the 18-inch hole. After this accident, navigators wore safety harnesses, and the plane's cruising altitude was lowered.

The use of armed guards and detection devices share the faults of the other proposed solutions; none gets to the cause of the Arab hijackings. When Senator Long made his medieval suggestion that the hijackers in Jordan be hung by their heels until the flies ate their flesh, he was talking through his hat. The individuals whose release the hijackers hoped to obtain through their actions can be characterized, in a broad sense, as political prisoners. Certainly they committed crimes in the countries that were holding them, but they were crimes of a peculiar nature. A man who throws a grenade into an airline office is either a madman or he is acting from political motives. It should be possible to distinguish between the madman and those using insane techniques to reach political goals. In the United States, many of the crimes which might be considered political crimes are already federal crimes, carrying sentences of fines, a term in prison, or death. Exile has served a useful function in other eras and could be made an option to a prison term. An individual who has received such a sentence could elect the same number of years in exile rather than prison. If he elects to serve his sentence, he would be reminded of a further federal statute defining the penalty for engaging in a conspiracy to avoid the completion of a sentence for a federal crime. If his supporters engage in *any* activity designed to cause his premature release from prison, he will be charged with being an accomplice to the conspiracy and will, upon conviction, be subject to the death penalty. The Supreme Court would have original jurisdiction in such cases, allowing a speedy conclusion to the trial and removing the time advantage in negotiations from the hijackers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on theater

The Good Woman of Setzuan

(Vivian Beaumont)

Trelawny of the "Wells"

(Anspacher)

Cassettes

(RCA, etc.)

Here comes the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater again, plodding patiently toward the altar of Culture. Their first offering of the season is Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan*, and everything, from the choice of the play onward, extends that company's walking somnolence.

The Good Woman is one of several Brecht works (*Arturo Ui, A Man's a Man, Mahagonny*) that are painfully two-dimensional. When Brecht's bitter didacticism is amplified into full-blooded cynical art, we get works as good as *Mother Courage* and *Galileo* and *The Threepenny Opera*, or even the youthful *Baal;* but when he points his finger at us and tells us that the heart of man is desperately wicked, the play is over – in theatrical dynamics – about seven minutes after it begins.

Shen Teh is a good-hearted prostitute in the China that Brecht invented for some plays, as he invented an America for others. In return for a kindness, three visiting gods reward her with money. The money brings trouble, and she has to assume a tough alter ego – a fictitious male cousin – in order to protect her good self. The final chorus asks us, please, to find some way to make the world safe for the good. (Ralph Manheim has done a limber new translation.)

The play has modest, bland narrative interest, no dramatic depth. This production does everything to emphasize the blandness. Robert Symonds has staged it adequately but has not really directed it – there is no tonal center. Elizabeth Wilson, a very good comedienne, is vivid as the vinegary neighbor Mrs. Shin, but Colleen Dewhurst alternates between Joan of Arc (as Shen Teh) and a "camp" gangster (as her own tough cousin). Presumably there's a way to get a comic-ironic tension out of this double role, but Miss Dewhurst, for all her gifts, has not found it.

I know a German actress whose former husband was once a leading actor for Brecht himself so, with him, she went to many Brecht rehearsals. She told me recently, "You people have it all wrong nowadays. Brecht was a genius of a *director*. He wrote the plays for himself to direct, and now you have only the plays." Surely the point is arguable; but surely, to judge by the little I've seen of the Berliner Ensemble, he *was* a directing genius, and surely there is a galloping thinness – in the theater – that is overtaking many of his plays. Unless *The Good Woman* is superlatively done, so that its moderate chances for virtuosity are fully exploited, it's hardly worth doing. It was highly important that Brecht become part of our cultural consciousness (a debt we owe largely to Eric Bentley). It's highly debatable that much of Brecht will remain theatrically vital.

Another New York "permanent" enterprise – the Public Theater – is doing *Trelawny of the "Wells"* on one of its four stages. Pinero's play, written in 1898, was an interesting choice for revival, and its importance was generally missed by reviewers who saw it only as cute or creaky.

The Bagnigge Wells is a theater in an unfashionable part of London; time, the early 1860s. Rose Trelawny, the young leading lady, falls in love with a young aristocrat, is disliked by his family because of her profession, gets a probationary term of living in the great house, cannot live as stuffily as the great family, and returns to the stage. The young aristocrat becomes an actor, too, and eventually joins her in the new theater to which she has gone.

Here and there in the British and American 19th-century drama, choked as it is with upholstered trash, is a play that, despite its mechanics and bathos, is clearly yearning toward the serious. Pinero was saying something in this play about the cruelty of class strata in Victorian England, but he was also saying something about art. He had himself been an actor 25 years before he wrote *Trelawny*, and he knew its theatrical milieu at first hand. Tom Wrench, the rebellious young actor-playwright of the "Wells," was modeled, we all know, on T. W. Robertson, author of *Society* and *Caste*, who initiated realism in the English theater. But Pinero openly admitted his debt to Robertson, and there may be something of himself in the role.

Equally important – and generally unremarked – is the change in Rose Trelawny. After her tribulations in the aristocratic house, she returns to the "Wells," only to flop. She can no longer manage the fustian style at which she had been successful; her personal experience has made it seem empty, emotionally false. Only when she goes to the new theater, in Wrench's new realistic play, can she act again – truthfully and well.

Pinero, in his limited way, is making a statement about psychological and emotional verity in art. *Trelawny* is a tiny harbinger of modernism; and, by having a young aristocrat go on the stage, is also socially revolutionary. All this is encased, as I say, in a thoroughly antiquated play, but this makes it even more interesting.

The performance is slovenly. Only Valerie French, as a successful alumna of the "Wells," has any style. Robert Rowan, who plays Wrench like an East Villager, has directed the theatrical material patronizingly, with a range of "ham" clichés. One would think that actors would have some interest in *understanding* actors of the past, instead of mocking them in stereotypes. The most egregious waste is of Grant Code, who plays a footman in the noble house. With his few lines, Code shows the authority and flavor that were needed in the role of Sir William Gower, the crusty old head of the house, qualities that are out of the question for the present actor in the part.

But the big theater news lately was not in the theater. The front-page headline of *Variety* for October 28th was "$50-MIL RCA VIDCASSETTE BET." RCA has appropriated 50 million dollars to produce programs for its own cassette system, to be on the market in 1972. They will not go after film backlogs of the studios (as other cassette companies are doing) because they believe those films have been overexposed on TV. Instead RCA will produce its own programs of many kinds – including "legit." The latter includes a possible

(Continued on page 32)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Seelye: Mark Twain as Grumbler

Mark Twain: An American Prophet by Maxwell Geismar

(Houghton Mifflin; $10.00)

Maxwell Geismar is a sort of Mr. Punch among critics, and in his last book, *Henry James and the Jacobites*, he drubbed the bejesus out of anybody who was silly enough to have published favorable remarks concerning James's artistry. Well, those who enjoy the sound of fury will be happy to hear that Geismar has found a new batch of skulls to thump, the doltish heads of critics like Van Wyck Brooks, Bernard DeVoto, Justin Kaplan, and Charles Neider, who have shamefully *under*rated the artistry of Mark Twain.

Geismar is particularly outspoken about the neglect of Twain's later writings, like *Following the Equator*, *What is Man?*, *Christian Science*, and posthumous collections of essays and speeches, works he claims have been largely ignored or airily dismissed by critics because of blindness and bias, or because certain critics were part of a "Cold War" (Geismar's term) conspiracy which wished to discredit Mark Twain's growing awareness of America's imperial role. A kindred spirit, Geismar prizes the later Mark Twain, who was the *angry* Mark Twain, and he is particularly fond of the *Autobiography*, especially those parts of the *Autobiography* which appeared only lately as *Letters from the Earth*.

Geismar-Punch is particularly hard on Justin Kaplan, the last in a line of critics who have characterized the aging Mark Twain as a bitter old man, discouraged by his many business failures and broken over the deaths of his favorite daughter and his beloved wife. Critics like Kaplan tend to dismiss Twain's later writings as offshoots of a rotten stump. Not Geismar, for whom Twain was to the last a "daylight writer," a cosmic optimist, whose acknowledged doubleness was an affirmative coupling of Edenic, innocent, pagan, plenary creativity and an identification with the sufferings of the human race, particularly the downtrodden peoples of the Edenic, innocent, pagan (read "Third World") countries. For Geismar, Mark Twain was a bard on the Walt Whitman plan, whose anger was cathartic, restorative, and who to the end remained a child at heart.

In my opinion, Geismar is full of prunes. To assert that *The Mysterious Stranger*, for example, is a great work of cosmic, comic, plenary, pagan affirmation, that it "is the purest bit of divine sunlight to illuminate all the long, dark, endless abyss of human history," is to own (or create) a different copy of that book from mine. But then Geismar is fond of referring to "*my* standard edition of Mark Twain's works," to distinguish it from the one generally referred to by "a whole school of conservative academic literary criticism." For Geismar likes to be considered an outsider where the academy is concerned. Well, all the more power to him. But at times he is outside merely for the sake of being outside, so far out that he is often wrong.

Take, for example, Geismar's often repeated declaration that Mark Twain's pagan-plenary creativeness much resembled that of "another orphic spirit of his own day, Walt Whitman, whom Twain in effect never knew or mentioned." In the page proofs of Geismar's book, "in effect" read "apparently," and Geismar seems, in effect, to have apparently sensed that he may have been mistaken, which indeed he is. Not only did Mark Twain know of and mention Walt Whitman, but he addressed a letter to the aging poet on his seventieth birthday, a letter quoted in part in Kaplan's despised *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain*. There are similar hedges and plantings throughout Geismar's book concerning Mark Twain's awareness of Walt Whitman's

The Girl

My twin's name is Ugly.
Anger is my brother.
I'll tunnel underground to hide from the sun.
Roots down there, matted and tangled as hair.
There's nothing to fear from the dead;
They have clean bones.

In my sleep I have loved a stone;
The old rhymes are wrong.
It can't hurt me.
Come quarry silence, the seed in the apple-core –
It asks no questions.
How loud the stream sings, hosanna over the sand.

Blind, naked as a new-born
Rat under my new dress,
Despair keeps me pale.
I sewed my own shroud.
The rising sap is painful to the tree,
Before they live, the branches hurt.

Come kiss me, I'll give you a name.
I'll make my body your house.
Hips, cushion; breasts, pillow
Bare joists and angles; life flow
Out from between my legs, that secret, dark
Altarpiece, hearth, heart, womb, womanly cave.

Constance Urdang

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

existence and greatness which, alas, fail to hide Geismar's lack of scholarship, the result in effect of his apparent contempt towards the whole academic tribe.

Besides, whether or not Twain knew Whitman is a Meaningless Conjunction, and Geismar's book is full of them. The one close associate that Twain had among his fellow writers was William Dean Howells, a most un-Whitmanlike spirit, and because of that, and perhaps because every other critic has always discussed the relationship between Twain and Howells, Geismar virtually ignores it.

Still, I must admit that everything that Geismar has to say about the qualities shared by Mark Twain and Walt Whitman is absolutely true – about Whitman. Whitman *was* a great, two-hearted river of a man, a holy hermaphrodite, who did manage (for all the good it did him) to contain multitudes, to rise up in fulfillment of Emerson's prophecy about the much-needed, messianic American Bard. But Twain was, if anything, Whitman's antithesis. If he was bardic, it was because the word has two etymological roots, the one meaning "singer" (Whitman), the other meaning "satirist." Mark Twain was a negative bard, a rat-killing bard, a dark bard, and if he unified the whole human race in his consciousness, it was a damned human race, and the faces of the multitude glance out in anguish from the flames. Twain was, as Geismar frequently points out, a "preacher," and it was in the western, evangelical, campmeeting mode that he preached, not salvation so much as damnation.

Still, he *was* a bard, perhaps the American Bard that Walt wanted so badly to be, for Mark Twain succeeded just where Whitman failed. To be a bard in a democracy, a writer must be a Representative Man, of the people, by the people, and for the people, and it is difficult to cite any writer who tried harder with less success than Walt Whitman. Save for an occasional street-car operator, Walt was notoriously unsuccessful in wooing the hard-hat audience he sought. So much for cosmic optimism. But Mark Twain, from the outset of his career as public lecturer, was instantaneously and widely popular, a condition of adulation that he, like so many subsequent celebrities came to detest even as it was necessary for his prosperity.

The quality of Twain's representativeness is reflected in the major works of scholarship and criticism which he has inspired: commencing with Van Wyck Brooks, extending through DeVoto, and now terminating for the moment with Geismar's book (which in galleys was entitled *Mark Twain's America*), Twain's representativeness has been the subject of what we might call schematic scholarship or cultural criticism (hey, Spiro?), approaches less concerned with literary excellence per se than with the peculiar quality of having been totally immersed in the baptismal flow of American life. *Pace* Geismar, most schematic scholars have not been much interested in the relative quality of Mark Twain's writings, which was for the most part embarrassingly bad. Twain *was* a popular writer, after all, and like television he was the best that America could hope for. Like television, also, his greatest efforts were aimed at a twelve-year-old mind.

Twain was also an immensely productive writer, whose productivity was likewise a key to his representativeness – and to the quality of his work. He ground prose out, oversaw its production, illustration, layout, and kept a paranoid eye on its marketing. Like Ben Franklin (whom he detested, as he hated so many people, each of whom seemed to incorporate in large one of his many weaknesses), Mark Twain was first and foremost a printer-journalist, and whereas Franklin conceived of himself as a book, Twain seems to have regarded *him*self in the image of a steam-press. He loved to count the pages he had written each day, and he wrote in a generous hand on rather small paper, so as to up the production figures. Typically, the machine into which he poured most of his money and much of his soul was a robot whose actions mimicked those of a human typesetter. Even to the bitter end, Twain marveled at the speed with which this Rube Goldberg invention could operate, when it did operate, which wasn't often.

Twain's production mania allies him to the emergent modern America of the post-Civil-War period, an industrialized, production-minded America. It was a world in which profits were linked to virtue, and in this regard Twain sought to be a moral paragon. He wanted money, chiefly, and only critical acclaim if it would bring him more money; and if a business scheme or an invention would make him money without his having to keep on writing, why that was even better. He shared (though he reviled) the Gold-rush Dream of striking it rich, of hitting the vein of sudden, Aladdin-like wealth which is the theme of *Roughing It*, wealth which would allow one to live forevermore the good life, which is the theme of *Life on the Mississippi*. But always, always, there was the nightmare of suddenly finding oneself turned out in rags, which is the theme of *The Prince and the Pauper*, and when Twain finished that book, he went back and finished *Huckleberry Finn*, his only enduring work, of art, which is the other dream, the dream of casting loose from it all, and to hell with it.

When the nightmare became reality, when the schemes and the machines failed him, Twain regarded it as an act of betrayal, and he behaved the way most Americans behave when machines and people – which they, like Twain, often confuse – do not perform according to expectations. The Paige typesetter, Bret Harte, the Kaolotype process, various publishers and accountants, all were exposed at one time or another to Mark Twain's wrath, and for similar (though often imaginary) reasons. And it was a terrible wrath, a spewing, raging, profanity-studded and spittle-stained wrath, a shirt-tearing, red-headed, foot-through-the-door, an infantile, paranoid wrath, and as time went on it did not grow gentle with the approaching night. One of the last things Twain wrote was a novella-length diatribe against the misdeeds and intrigues of the poor woman whose unfortunate lot it was to be his private secretary. Geismar seems to have overlooked this treasure, which, if it lets daylight in, does it with a shotgun of abuse. But, as Geismar gleefully assures us, as Twain's rage burned fiercer, it spread from specific targets, human and mechanical, to what Twain was displeased to call the damned human race.

If Twain was a good hater, he was also a careful hater, and made sure that most of his vitriol would be spilled for the entertainment of a later generation. Like Robert Frost, he was careful to keep his public image manicured, to keep the claws trimmed back. Thus Twain existed on sociable terms with Andrew Carnegie and on at least polite terms with Mrs. T. B. Aldrich, but hidden in the pages of his *Autobiography* were attacks on both those admittedly eminently attackable Victorians. Until late in his life, when things

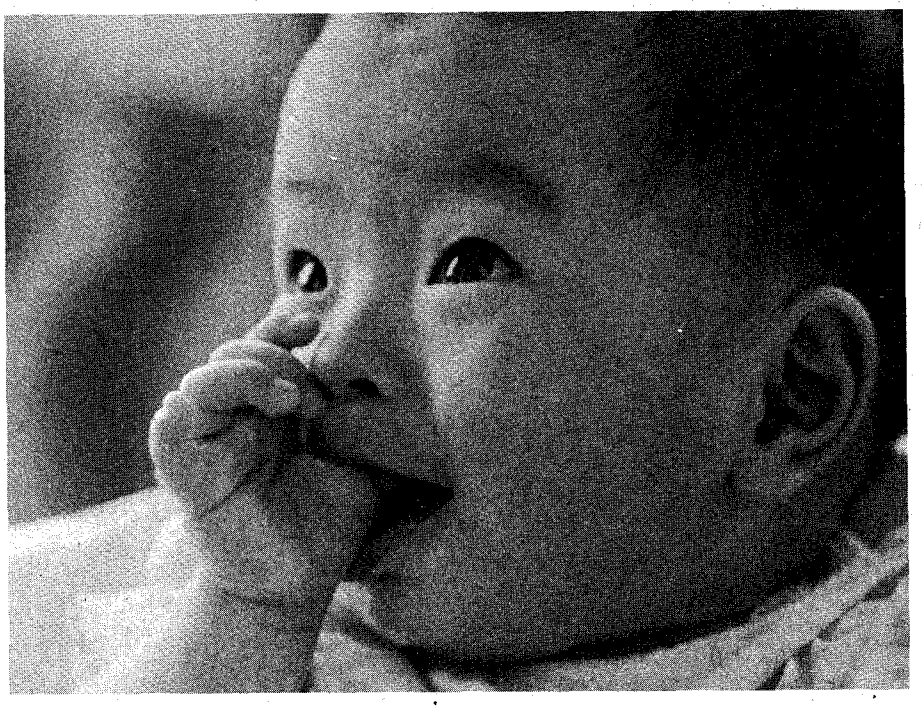
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

went bust, Twain reserved his public anger for safe targets, like slavery, feudal tyranny, English and Belgian colonialism, and Mary Baker Eddy. And even then, his attacks on Theodore Roosevelt's Philippine adventure was an extension of Populist isolationism rather than a critique of American imperialism. Like Senator Fulbright, he remained silent on domestic outrages like the Haymarket trial. While Howells spoke out courageously in defense of the accused "anarchists," risking his reputation thereby, "Twain," in Geismar's words, "for whatever reasons, made no public statement." Nor did he make any recorded private statement. He kept quiet.

It was during Mark Twain's angry last years that he became the George Bernard Shaw of his day, the beloved Old Man of acid wit. The best-known image of Mark Twain, capitalized on by Hal Holbrook, is wreathed by a puff of smoky white hair, a frown glowering on all our houses, and moustaches suggesting a mouth frozen in an expression between outrage and mirth – the very image of his favorite contemporary, Satan. This was the Old Man of the last, nightmarish lecture tour, broken, bitter, dispirited, hating himself and despising his audience, Lear-like bearing the burden of his favorite daughter's death. But when he opened his mouth, it was not to deliver prophecy, but to make people laugh. And like Pap Finn, the madder he got, the funnier he was.

It is, and only the vernacular will do, Mark Twain's orneriness, his cussedness, his pissed-offedness, which *makes* him so beloved, which makes him so eminently a candidate for the American Bardship. For his was a well of pure invective undefiled, and his use of it when inspired by the rage which was at once productive of his best writing and so cancerously destructive of his talent, was pure poetry in a distinctly American (and WASPish) vein. It is the cosmic counterpart to Whitman's cosmic universality, and lies at the heart of Twain's bardic representativeness, which makes him our much-beloved Angry Old Man, the personification of outrage and frustration that is the dark side of American individualism.

His rage, so long as it kept within boundaries which Twain astutely recognized, was granted the license of folly. How else can we explain his con-



Happiness is having a mother to love you

And nine-month-old Lin Su contentedly sucks her thumb as she watches her new "mother" come to give her a nursing bottle of warm milk.

Lin Su's "mother" is a staff member at our Pine Hill Babies' Home in Hong Kong and to Lin Su she means happiness and security—and most important—love.

You see, until she came to us, this little girl had been badly neglected and abused. Her mother died when Lin Su was born and her father disappeared soon after. Lin Su was left alone in the shack which was her home. Neighbors found her and tried to take care of her.

But they were desperately poor with several children of their own. There simply wasn't any place where Lin Su was wanted. No one picked her up to cuddle her, she was often hungry and wet and cold for hours before anyone found time for her.

Besides being dangerously undernourished, Lin Su had been deprived of the warm, loving atmosphere that all babies need if they are to thrive.

Now, Lin Su is happy. You can see from her picture that contentment and security have filled her world. She is responding well to the tender care she receives and her eyes light up when her "mother" comes near.

It's good to comfort and take care of a little one like Lin Su. Won't you share this feeling with us by becoming a CCF sponsor for one of thousands of other children who are victims of events they cannot help?

I urge you to reach out to a needy child. For only $12.00 a month you can sponsor a little boy or girl, and help provide happiness, security and love.

Please fill out the coupon today. Then in about two weeks, you will receive a photograph of the child you sponsor and a personal history. Your sponsored child will write to you and a housemother or staff worker will send you the original letter and an English translation, direct from overseas.

Whenever you may wish to send a special little gift, you've only to send your check to the CCF Richmond office and the entire amount will be forwarded, along with your instructions for its use.

For more than thirty years, through CCF sponsorships, Americans have shared their blessings with needy children around the world. Please, let today be the day you join this special group and begin to enjoy the rewards that come from person-to-person sharing with a little child.

Thanks so much.

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Taiwan (Formosa) and Hong Kong. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

Write today: Verent J. Mills

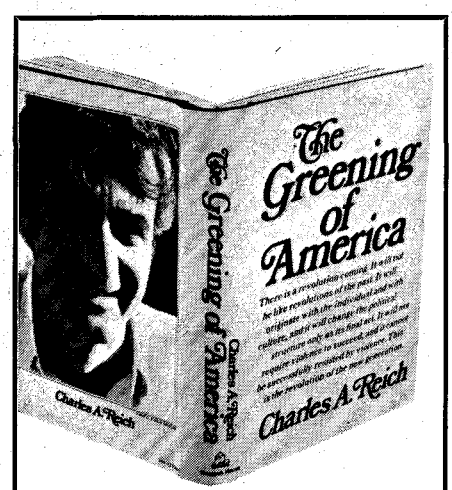
CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc. Box 511 Richmond, Va. 23204

I wish to sponsor ☐ boy ☐ girl in (Country)_____
☐ Choose a child who needs me most. I will pay $12 a month. I enclose first payment of $_____. Send me child's name, story, address and picture. I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____.
☐ Please send me more information.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

Registered (VFA-080) with the U.S. Government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Gifts are tax deductible. Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto 7 NR62NO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The book for our times

"Charles Reich has written an enormously interesting book... His social evidence and interpretation are wide-ranging; his conclusions are well beyond my imagination — or courage. It will have a big audience, and his concept of Consciousnesses I, II and III will affect political thinking and behavior."
—JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

"This is a book about Revolution— not in the Marxist sense, but Revolution against many of the values which Technology has thrust upon us. The question is, can we develop a new Consciousness that places the Individual and Humanistic values above the machine? This book is challenging and provocative—a first-rate piece of creative thinking."
—JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

"This is a lengthy, brilliant, hopeful analysis of the new community of youth. It told me more about the attitudes of the young than I had read, observed or found anywhere before. A most important statement of our time."—WILLIAM HOGAN, *San Francisco Chronicle*

"I find it one of the most **gripping, penetrating, and revealing** analyses of American society I have yet seen."
—SENATOR GEORGE MC GOVERN

The Greening of America
Charles A. Reich

$7.95, now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

tinued popularity, especially among the capitalists, like Henry Rogers, who had befriended him and helped him out, and invited him to lacerate them at their banquets? Of course, Twain's denunciations were always ironically framed (the tradition of the licensed fool), a species of mockery that was acceptable to those bankers, lawyers, politicians, generals, and oil men who so often made up his audience and his target, but who always laughed and applauded his marksmanship. And, of course, they laughed because they could afford it (any way you want to look at it), because it was they who bought him his dinner. Finally, Twain's anger at those occasions was nothing more than an extreme form of kidding, the Great American Businessman Sport, more acerb but not much different from the kindly joshing with which Bob Hope can tickle Spiro Agnew into gales of laughter.

Well, Mark Twain was a very complicated Angry Old Man, and he burned with a tangled fire. I do not think that Maxwell Geismar has done much to straighten it out, but he surely has done what he could to give it air to breathe and live again. The latter half of his book is a virtual anthology of Twain's better outbursts, whole pages at a time, with Geismar devoting his own modest share to a constant grumbling and cussing about the conspiracy of critics who have ignored this prophetic side of Twain's genius because of their cowardice. But to read this book is perhaps to discover another possibility, that the reasons for their ignoring it are not necessarily political. Because, as Geismar demonstrates at length, there isn't much you can *do* (as a critic) with it except quote it, and point out its beauty and its aptness. And this, essentially, is Geismar's method, to slap down a few choice paragraphs, applaud, slap down some more, applaud, and then slap down a page and a half for emphasis, boot Justin Kaplan with a footnote, and burst into cheers.

Well, it's lots of fun, and though Maxwell Geismar may be full of prunes, his book is full of plums – mostly Mark Twain's – a sort of guided tour through Grumbleland. If we have to grant Geismar a tourguide license of a special sort, well what of that? Goodness knows we need our Mr. Punches, even if Judy turns out to be Bernard DeVoto in drag. Isn't that what Mark Twain himself is all about?

Muriel Haynes: Rewriting Marx and Freud

The Dialectic of Sex by Shulamith Firestone

(William Morrow; $6.95)

Moderate feminists usually find the subject of sex difference embarrassing: how does one argue away a fact of nature? Best to sidestep the uncomfortable matter; refuse it any political significance. What holds females back, they tell us again and again, is not their reproductive and nurturing function, but the monumental social and cultural edifice that has risen through the ages, to confine them to this primordial role. Let women chip away at this unjust structure by demanding their rights. Inevitably they will emerge triumphant, to claim their freedom as complete human beings. As the prison walls crumble under the blows of the egalitarian battering ram, male privilege will join the dust.

The radical feminists' answer to this is: Not a chance! Biological inequity is at the very crux of women's subordination. The proper tactic is to put it squarely center stage in a revolutionary social program; to make it the overriding political issue. In *The Dialectic of Sex* Shulamith Firestone tackles this assignment by linking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marxist theory with Freudian sexual insights. The gist of her book hinges on a sharply reasoned correction of the failures of each. She proposes a feminist version of historical materialism in which sex itself is the source of the class struggle.

Marx and Engels' error, she believes, was to locate "the ultimate cause and great moving power of all historic events" (the quote is from Engels' *Socialism: Utopian or Scientific*) in economic development. In so doing they stopped just short of the psycho-sexual reality that lay beneath, knowledge of which we owe, of course, to Freud's revelations. Unfortunately, Freud lacked the historical imagination to project his findings beyond the social context of his time. Like many less-gifted people, he was not immune to mistaking immediate conditions for the absolute human predicament. In consequence, he preached the false gospel of adjustment to the family pattern, a quieting program of psychoanalytic therapy that overshadowed the revolutionary implications of his sexual discoveries. For it is Firestone's thesis that the domination of one class by another originates in the reproductive unit – male/female/infant. The cause is simply the division of labor imposed by biological difference, with the inherent imbalance of power that has, from the beginning of time, favored the male.

She begins by revising Engels and ends by liberating women through technology. The future she anticipates will scare the daylights out of some, but they can take comfort in the fact they will not live to see it. And yet some of its seeds are visible even now. Already we are releasing ourselves from nature's oppression by controlling, adapting and banishing forces that threaten our survival. In the same way, Firestone suggests, we can alter the biological environment to vanquish the female procreative handicap and end the tyranny of the reproductive family unit. The problem that stands in the way is our will to do it. Putting a man (and perhaps a woman?) on the moon is one thing, but the development of an artificial placenta is something else again. Yet experimental work is going forward right now on this possibility even as the Equal Rights Amendment appears to be headed for its forty-eighth consecutive year of legislative gestation.

The family's chief reason for being was the procreation of children, a necessity for the perpetuation of the race. By now this function has taken on menacing aspects as a possible step toward our extinction. We are getting more children than we need or can feed. Economically, too, the family grows almost daily more inefficient in the face of the resources at our command. Its potency as a social force is diminishing, and more and more it serves as a privatist escape from our collective responsibility. And so, says Firestone, it is doomed, and with it will go the repressive emphasis on genital sex, to be replaced by pansexuality. Children will be relieved of their status as possessions to bolster our egos; they will be integrated into adult society at an early age, as was true in periods of the past. Computers will take over most of what we now consider to be education. Cybernetics will replace much of labor as we now know it. Finally, within a loving, power-free community, there will be restored to women "ownership of their own bodies as well as feminine control of human fertility, including both the new technology and the social institutions of childbearing and childrearing." In short, woman, owner of the means of (re)production, will have asserted her ownership to end her oppression. Not just sex difference, but sex distinctions, will have disappeared.

What more remains to be said, in the remote chance this is not enough? Some ruminations on the wrongheadedness of our notions of love and romance. And an examination of racism and culture through the lens of sex dualism. Firestone is less convincing to me, at least, in this territory, for like all true believers she sees signs and portents everywhere. On the whole, though, *The Dialectic of Sex*, true to the Marxist spirit, presents a utopia that is not a visionary dream but a concrete diagram of the future, predictable from the barely perceptible signals given off by present social forces. Firestone has executed a brilliant demonstration of the materialist prophecy: when we take control of the means available to us, we can consciously transform what is "natural" into what is beneficial and human. The obituary for power psychology in all its forms is ready and waiting. Radical feminism has written it.

Notes on Contributors

Professor John Seelye *is the author of* The True Adventures of Huckleberry Finn *(Northwestern University Press).*

Banner of People's War, The Party's Military Line

General Vo Nguyen Giap
Preface by Jean Lacouture
Introduction by Georges Boudarel

In a significant document that provides a rare look into North Vietnam's strategies and internal conditions, Hanoi's leading military commander reveals his intense, total commitment against foreign aggressors. Ranging across all aspects of the people's war—political, social, and military—General Giap sees total mobilization of the people into a powerful political and military force that will ultimately triumph, he feels, in a long war. "Recommended strongly." —**Library Journal** $5.50

VIETNAM— A HOUSE DIVIDED

Between Two Fires
The Unheard Voices of Vietnam

Edited and with a Preface by Ly Qui Chung
Introduction by Frances FitzGerald

Nine brilliant stories—written by Vietnamese and originally published in a Saigon newspaper—poignantly express the agony of the Vietnamese civilians, trapped in a war that seems to have no end. The stories—such as the account of an old man who stays in an evacuated village to protect his ancestors' graves—are not political. They are moving cries of anguish reflecting the turmoil and suffering that result when a land of tradition becomes a battleground. "An insight into the nature of the true situation in South Vietnam."— **Publisher's Weekly** $5.95; $1.95 paper

Now at your bookstore

praeger

111 Fourth Avenue, New York 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notable

Genesis 1948
by Dan Kurzman

(World; $12.95)

Dan Kurzman published a study of post-war Japanese politics just as public interest in Japan was climbing to a new high. He wrote an excellent book about Santo Domingo soon after President Lyndon Johnson sent American troops into that Caribbean republic to save it from Communism (quote, unquote; Johnson's, not Kurzman's). And now, he has produced a detailed account of the first Arab-Israeli war, just as interest in the Middle East is again at white heat.

Kurzman needless to say is a journalist – a former foreign correspondent of the *Washington Post* – and an extremely good one. But his enormous, 300,000-word book on the Middle East is more than journalism. He conscientiously spent three years, personally interviewing about one thousand persons. That is what any top journalist will do on a big story, if he or she can only lay hands on the money needed to buy the time and the travel; Kurzman fortunately did. However, he explains in his preface that he has also tried to bring history alive, by using "the techniques of the novelist and biographer." That is not a small promise, but it almost pales before the performance. The book contains material for a half dozen novels, and more biographies. It's continuously, often quite painfully, exciting.

There are scores of plain characters, but his huge cast sweepingly embraces kings, prime ministers, presidents and top diplomats as well; King Abdullah, British commanders, guerrilla fighters, the lot. Kurzman does not spend all his time on battlefields, or in villages. The battles, the killings, the atrocities are vividly described, some of them a bit too much so for readers with weak stomachs. But, just as you're feeling you can't take much more, Kurzman quickly changes the scene, and abruptly has the reader treading the corridors of power in Washington. The contrast between the spilt blood and the cloistered quiet is effective.

Kurzman's main achievement is that he has told the story of a war almost entirely in terms of people *as individuals*. There are no faceless masses here. Even the diplomats and the politicians have faces. But the ordinary, sweating, swearing, fighting people are always alive – especially when they are just about to die. Very many do, in those tense and crackling pages.

Kurzman's opening paragraph is a quote. "What's the matter with you? Can't you see they're burning and pillaging? Why don't you do something?" That's still the Middle East story.

His final paragraph, 717 pages later, in his epilogue, reads: "Mathilda Muhtaseb, who after the first war lived in Jewish Jerusalem, was reunited with her daughters when the Israelis captured the Old City in the Six Day War. She and her daughters, all married to Moslems, for years had been within sight of each other's homes on either side of a no-man's-land separating the two sections of Jerusalem."

"All married to Moslems. . . ." That too is the Middle East story.

WHAT $20 BILLION IN U.S. AID BOUGHT IN LATIN AMERICA!

the alliance that lost its way

A Twentieth Century Fund Study by Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onis

Ten years and $20 billion after the birth of the Alliance for Progress, Chile has elected a Marxist President. What has gone wrong with the U.S. program explicitly designed to give Latin America alternatives to Marxism? This eye-opening report by a former government official and by the New York Times Mexico City bureau chief provides the answers. More importantly, it recommends bold and specific policy changes to return the Alliance to the democratic ideals under which it was conceived. $7.95

QUADRANGLE BOOKS
OUR TENTH ANNIVERSARY • CHICAGO, 60611

The Collected Poems of James Agee
edited by Robert Fitzgerald

(Ballantine; $1.65)

As a poet Agee was remarkably attached to traditional forms and manners. It would seem that his literary education at Exeter and Harvard really took. Sonnets he liked, and *ottava rima*. He wrote an *Epithalamium*, and did it straight. His rhetoric had a 19th century flavor, but the model is not clear except in his long and incomplete poem, *John Carter*, which he described as "somewhat in the manner of *Don Juan*," adding (these were his ambitious notes to himself before he had written a word): "it should have great diversity and flexibility of diction, but should be more organized than *Don Juan*. Predominantly it is satirical and comic; fundamentally serious and moral; and ultimately metaphysical." *John Carter* did not rise to these aspirations (what could?), but it is, unevenly, a most spirited and amusing work. And throughout the rest of this collection (of poems written between 1929 and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1955), the energy of a passionate and witty artist shines.

Agee will probably not be remembered for his verse, yet this collection, aside from its own merits, is fascinating testimony to the obsessive delight in the niceties and the conventions of language a rebellious writer-soul could find only a few decades ago. Ain't like that now.

Television

Potted Plants, Padded Banks

Observe the plant woman, Thalasa Cruso ("Making Things Grow"), on NET. She is holding a potted plant. She is turning it over and banging it on the table – and lo the plant has skipped clear of the pot.

Ah, but the plant is sick. It has languished too long in too small a pot. Its roots are matted and tangled. It needs to be transplanted to a bigger pot!

But how big? The plant woman pushes her glasses back with a flourish, so that now they are sitting high on the top of her head; and she looks us straight in the eye and tells us it shouldn't be *too* big. If it were *too* big a small plant would look funny in it – and besides the roots wouldn't like it. So let us measure. She lets down her glasses and measures. She chooses a pot slightly larger than that which was too small. She prepares to transplant.

Now! In putting the plant in the new (and larger) pot you must be sure to put it in the middle (it would look odd on the side). Also you must be sure to put a good bit of dirt mixed with sand at the bottom of the new pot before inserting the plant, so that the dirt will not mount higher on the plant's stem than it did in the *old* pot. Very well. The plant woman pushes the glasses back with a sweep, pours the dirt and the sand in the bottom, bangs the pot on the bench, inserts the plant (in the middle), and begins furiously to pack dirt in and down at the edges while banging and spinning the pot – and talking.

She is very busy and businesslike, this plant woman. She works harder than Julia Child does at a souffle. There's a touch of hysteria about her sometimes, a bit of too much, but at her best she has the attractive Julia-Child flavor of knowledgeable eccentricity: she is lavish with gestures, she does what she does with a vigor that verges on the absurd, and she reports on what she is doing in massive detail.

I wish her well, and I look in my crystal ball and see the Pet Woman (who will madly brush long-haired dogs while discoursing on burrs), the Home Repair Man (who will drill holes in dining room tables while preaching the care and cleaning of tools), and possibly the Consumer Androgynoid (who will read labels in markets while admonishing General Foods).

But NET's interests extend far beyond How To Do It – even into How Not To Do It, which might well be the subtitle of its new documentary, "Banks and the Poor." This program is powerful stuff – imagine Public Broadcasting attacking Fortress Money, exposing the failure of financial institutions to help the ghetto poor. It was shown in most areas in the second week of November on the PBS network, but because of its controversial nature PBS warned its 198 affiliate stations to stand ready for protests. Sure enough the Texas Bankers Association turned on the protest pressure before broadcast time, causing one of the five Texas educational stations to decline to carry the program, another to postpone it. Just how many other stations refused to air it won't be known for several weeks. NET's counsel advised the stations that the program did not, in their opinion, violate the "personal-attack" provision of the rules of the Federal Communications Commission – but many stations doubtless have other advisors. And what is the furor about?

House Banking and Currency Chairman Rep. Wright Patman and David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan set the tone for the show, dueling with each other smartly. "Chase Manhattan

ENVIRONMENT, POWER, AND SOCIETY

By HOWARD T. ODUM, *University of Florida, Gainesville*

This book about nature and man shows that the basic laws of energy and matter can be applied to these complex systems. This ecological analysis is carried into the economic, sociological and political aspects of our environmental crisis. Written in a lucid, non-mathematical style, *Environment, Power, and Society* is a fascinating examination of the most critical problem of our time: the survival of man.

1970 336 pages $9.95

THE LUNAR ROCKS

By BRIAN MASON and WILLIAM G. MELSON, both of the *Smithsonian Institution*

Written by two scientists who personally participated in the investigations on the samples returned from the Moon, *The Lunar Rocks* describes what has been learned about the origin of the Moon, and also, the information that has been gathered about the early history of the earth and the entire solar system.

1970 192 pages $8.95

STATE DEPARTMENT, PRESS, AND PRESSURE GROUPS: A ROLE ANALYSIS

By WILLIAM O. CHITTICK, *University of Georgia*

How compatible are democracy and foreign policy? To what extent can the public debate foreign issues without giving aid to the enemy? To what extent can a democratic government conceal its thoughts and actions without losing public confidence?

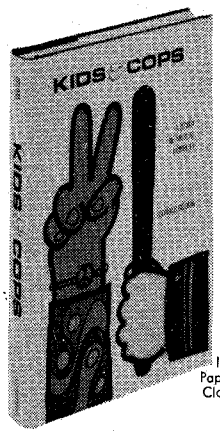
The answers to these and other questions are provided in this study of the four elite groups—State Department policy officers, State Department information officers, foreign affairs reporters, and leaders of nongovernmental organizations—who affect the content of public opinion and foreign policy.

1970 304 pages $9.95

Order from your bookseller or from Dept. 428

WILEY-INTERSCIENCE
a division of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
605 Third Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10016
In Canada:
22 Worcester Road, Rexdale, Ontario

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



168 Pages.
Paper, $2.95
Cloth, $4.95

Kids & Cops

A Study in Mutual Hostility
by Donald Bouma

"Highly readable and understandable . . . must reading for every officer."—**Law & Order**

"A well written, informed, and readable analysis of questions which are of interest to specialists and general readers alike." —**Choice**

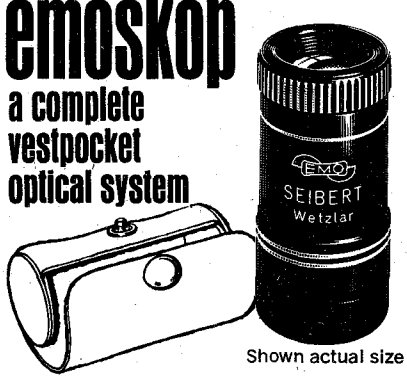
"A must for all policemen, police officials and community leaders."—**Christian Century**

Grand Rapids, Michigan
WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.

0-56

more than just a telescope more than just a microscope

emoskop
a complete vestpocket optical system



Shown actual size

We went to Wetzlar, Germany (world capital of fine optics) to find such perfection at such a price. Remove the EMOSKOP from its fitted leather case and it is a 30x microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it to a 3x telescope (ideal for theater, field or sky) or a unique 3x telescope-loupe. Another change and you have your choice of 5x, 10x or 15x magnifying glasses. The perfect vest-pocket companion for exacting professionals and scientists and all those who wish to observe anything closely and clearly. A most discreet opera glass. If you make a fetish of quality, the EMOSKOP will do you proud. Coated lenses, fully achromatic, absolutely flat field. Modern Photography Magazine calls the EMOSKOP "*. . . the only magnifier worthy of the name.*"

☐ Send me the EMOSKOP. I enclose $17.95 ($16.95 plus $1 postage and insurance). Calif. residents add 5% tax. Refund within 2 weeks if not delighted. NR1128

Name_____

Address_____

_____ Zip_____

584 Washington,
San Francisco 94111
Phone (415) 981-5688

haverhill's

has millions of dollars for gambling casinos but only comparative to pennies [sic] for housing for the poor," charges Rep. Patman. Rockefeller suggests that Patman "was once turned down for some loan that he tried to make in his local Texas bank, and he seems to have taken a rather dim view of bankers ever since." Yet as "Banks and the Poor" reveals, there are plenty of other good reasons for one to take a dim view of bankers.

For example, the alliance – inadvertent or not – between banks and high-interest loan companies. In Washington, D.C., banks often turn down low income applicants who could have been charged only eight percent, forcing them to deal with loan companies across the Maryland state line, where the maximum legal rate for a small loan is 36 percent. Who lends the loan companies the money to run their blood-draining business? The bank that turned down the low income applicant in the first place.

Or there's the Sheriff's sale, dramatically filmed by NET, during which the homes of the poor are sold because of defaulted consumer debts. Since banks are large buyers of installment contracts, they stand as the impersonal machine behind the confiscation of homes in many cities. A Philadelphia woman uses her home as collateral to co-sign an auto loan for her brother, who then falls behind in his payments. Her house is put on the auction block, even though only $157.69 is owed on the original automobile debt.

The program suffers somewhat from poor organization; also it doesn't always manage to reduce its complex subject to understandable form for the layman. Still, its flaws are more than offset by its boldness. "Banks and the Poor" winds up by showing the names of nearly 150 members of the US Senate and the House of Representatives who either have financial holdings in banks, serve as bank directors or are associated with law firms having bank clients. The list comes from the ethics committee of the New York City Bar Association, which has repeatedly, and without effect, called for Congressmen to divest themselves of such interests so as to remove the taint of conflict of interests. I wouldn't be surprised if some of those interests now called on PBS to divest itself of its missionary spirit, but the spirit, and Morton Silverstein's production, are grand.

Sedulus

Correspondence

More on English Depts.

Sirs:

I have read the Whittemore opus on O'Toole and the crisis in English. (NR, Nov.7). There is indeed nothing funny about what is happening to English studies. I myself think they never deserved the charisma – or the *kind* of glamor, anyhow – that clung to them in their most popular days. But perhaps this can always be said about the fashionable subject. Surely the things that were said about the curative powers of the Classics back in their great days now sound crazy, and the things that are beginning to be said about how easily sociology or psychology will save us all are equally ridiculous. It nonetheless remains a fact that English studies are losing their glamor for undergraduates and will soon feel the political effect of that at the course-registration desk. In fact, they already have. At all the major institutions I know, our majors are down sharply as well as our elections in hitherto popular courses like Shakespeare and modern literature – not down to the rock bottom, but distinctly and ominously down.

We all know what the solution to this problem is if only we had the power to carry out the necessary plan. What is above all needed is that the subject be handled in a direct and even simple way so as to bring out its humanity – if I dare say so, its moral relevance to the lives of all human beings – without cheapening of its values, without reduction to an ideology, without preachment. We have all known a few teachers whose minds could dance amusingly, ironically but uncynically around the moral complications of the view of life displayed with such grace and depth of feeling and such range of human awareness in good literature. This is all we need. Every time one succeeds for a moment in achieving that level of comment on a piece of literature, one can feel the hungry sheep lifting up their heads in the classroom. The need is perennial; they used to take it for granted we were feeding them even when we weren't. They don't take it for granted any longer; we really have to put out. And we don't, much of the time.

Of course procedural reforms could make it easier for teachers to be this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

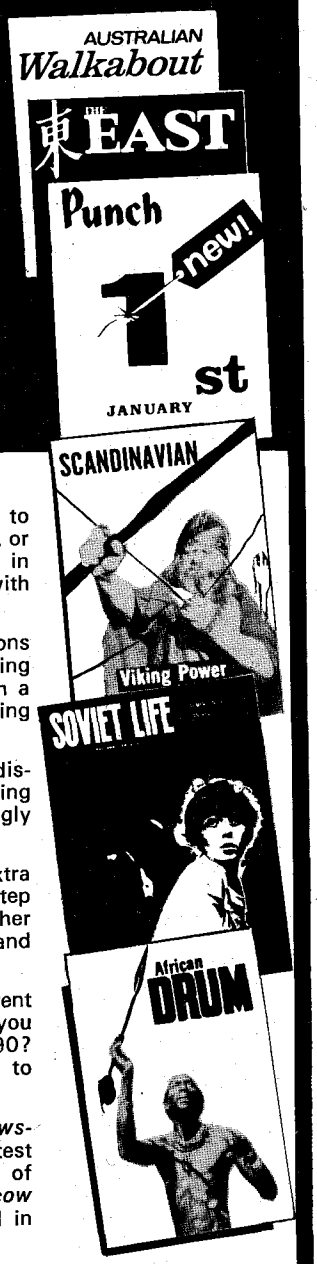
kind of teacher more of the time. But I do not myself believe that procedural reforms – except as some system is more glamorous in an arbitrary way to our students than another system – are of any significance. It's my impression that all the systems I have been a part of during my life add up to about the same figure in virtues and faults; the only difference is really the quality of the people within them. Moreover, I've developed a real horror of people who think systems do matter: they are so busy overthrowing one and so sure the other will automatically produce paradise that they hardly try at all to be any use in the world in the meantime.

Does Whittemore really think anyone mistakes the average university-press monograph – to say nothing of the average doctoral dissertation – for "wisdom, enlightenment, truth"? He couldn't be righter in his feeling that too many monographs, too many university-press books in general, get published. But this is a by-product of the number of university presses as well as of the number of would-be scholars in the world. Ninety percent of this stuff ought certainly never to see the light of day. Doctoral dissertations are another matter. They are essentially pedagogical devices, means of teaching. As such they are very useful. A man who means to write a book does well to have a practice run at it, under supervision, before he tries the real thing: it teaches him a hell of a lot. Moreover, the guy who writes a doctoral dissertation – like the undergraduate who writes a senior essay – *learns* a hell of a lot about his subject in the process. There is no more wrong with a doctoral dissertation than is wrong with a term paper or senior thesis, as long as the damned thing doesn't get published. Of course a hell of a lot of the books by quite respectable people are unreadable too.

But never mind. Whittemore is, I believe, wholly right about "the simple though obscure fact of loss." People don't like to recognize it's occurring; they prefer to pretend they don't notice the bad smell around the joint. The formal study of English is going the way of the classics all right. What will survive will be a lot of mindless, fashionable courses in the Open-Ended Novel, The Theater of the Absurd for Math Majors, The Fold-in and Cut-out Novel (Independent Study), The Poetry of Revolutionary Self-Expression, etc., etc. These things will always be popu-

Magazines from Around The World

All in English—A Different One Each Month



Imagine picking up *Punch* from your coffee table to quote some piece of delightful British humor . . . or being able to look at life behind the Iron Curtain in *Soviet Life* . . . or showing a friend a copy of *Drum* with the throb of tribal Africa.

The colorful articles, eye-catching covers, the cartoons and even the advertisements make fascinating reading as you compare them from country to country—with a new and exciting English-language magazine arriving from a different part of the world each month.

"Magazines from Around the World" make a truly distinctive gift that not only provides hours of intriguing and informative reading, but also says some flatteringly nice things about what you think of the recipient.

It's like a passport to the world. Consider the extra educational value for children in being able to step outside the U.S. and see what it's really like in other countries like India, Israel, Mexico, Germany and many more.

You'll be giving 12 different gifts from 12 different countries for the price of just one. How often can you find all these advantages in a gift that costs only $9.90? You may want to be the person who introduces it to your whole circle of friends.

And for $5.95 you can give additional friends *"Newspapers from Around the World,"* the world's greatest English-language newspapers including: *Le Monde* of Paris, the *Times of London, Jerusalem Post, Moscow News, Saigon Post* and *China Mail.* All are printed in English, with a different paper coming each month.

Wouldn't You Like A Gift Like This?

Please hurry so that we can send your gift recipients a special "Around the World" gift announcement in your name in time for the holidays. Please enclose a check and mail to: International News, Box 1652A, Washington, D. C. 20013

1. Subscription Desired:
☐ World Magazines for $9.90
☐ World Newspapers for $5.95

Donor's Name
Name of Recipient
Street Address
City
State
Zip

2. Subscription Desired:
☐ World Magazines for $9.90
☐ World Newspapers for $5.95

Donor's Name
Name of Recipient
Street Address
City
State
Zip

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lar, I suspect, but they have as much to do with the study of English as the yellow pages of the telephone book.

Arthur Mizener
Cornell University

Taxes

Sirs:

In "How Unfair Are Taxes?" (Nov. 7, 1970), Melville Ulmer argues persuasively that the overall US tax system is a good deal less progressive than is commonly believed. He cites a Tax Foundation study which shows that the only progressivity in the overall incidence of Federal, State and Local taxes occurs for incomes of $15,000 and over. Mr. Ulmer correctly attributes this to the effect of nonprogressive taxes and tax loopholes, and argues that tax evasion (which is not shown in the figures) may result in still less progressivity. I have recently completed a study that suggests that even this limited progressivity is overstated for still another reason: the relatively narrow definition of income used by the Office of Business Economics of the Department of Commerce and by the Tax Foundation. Existing measures of income typically exclude all realized and unrealized capital gains and losses accruing to individuals. Such increments clearly affect the net worth and hence the potential purchasing power of their owners, yet they have heretofore been excluded from measured income because of 'measurement difficulties.' However, estimates of annual capital gains and losses can be made and the result of their inclusion in the measure of income is very striking: when aggregate capital gains exceed losses, as they have in most of the post-war period, even the alleged progressivity in the $15,000 and over category disappears (see Table 1). In 1958, for example, families with incomes below $4000 actually paid a higher percentage of their income in taxes than did those with an annual income of $15,000 and over.

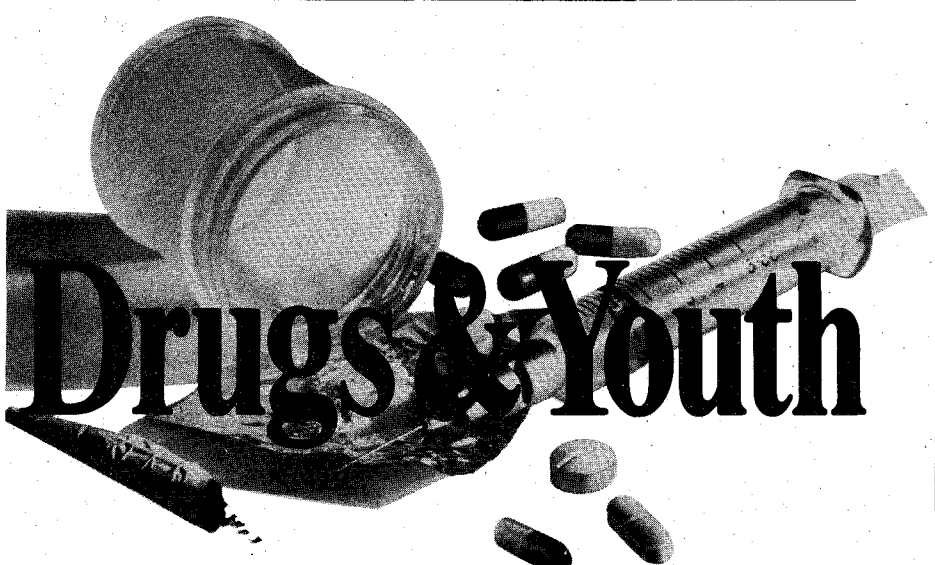
Table 1
Federal, State and Local Taxes as a Percentage of Income

1958 Income	Total Income	Total Income Plus Net Capital Gains (losses)
Under $4,000	27.5%	26.6%
4,000- 5,999	26.0	25.4
6,000- 7,999	25.8	24.5
8,000-14,999	24.2	21.9
15,000 and over	38.1	26.0

Source: Total Income data from the Tax Foundation, Inc.

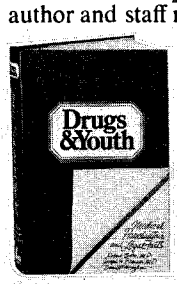
When evidence of widespread tax evasion by high income groups is added to these findings, it appears probable that the overall tax system is, at most, proportional and perhaps even regressive.

Michael B. McElroy
North Carolina State Univerity at Raleigh



Here, at last, are the medical, psychiatric and legal facts about drugs and youth . . . researched and revealed by three experts in their fields.

Find out from a psychiatrist (Robert Coles, M.D. psychiatrist, noted author and staff member of Harvard University Health Services): How drugs affect the mind. What causes "return trips" or flashbacks. Whether continued drug use really leads to psychosis. What permanent psychological damage various drugs can inflict.



Find out from a doctor (Joseph Brenner, M.D. at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology): What is the difference between one drug and another. Which drugs are addictive and which are not. What are the physical effects of drugs – long and short range.

Find out from a lawyer (Dermot Meagher, former Assistant District Attorney, Worcester County, Mass.): What the law holds in store for drug users and pushers. In what direction is drug reform going? What the penalties for possession and use are in every state.

You'll find all this . . . and a lot more about drugs and youth in a book ". . . devoted to documentation and 'facts' . . . clear, concise and objective." – *Publishers' Weekly.* In a book on drugs and youth that is "highly recommended for youngsters and adults whether they be 'into' or 'out of' the drug scene." – *Library Journal.* In *Drugs & Youth*, "the best single 'drug' book available. . . ." *The New Orleans Times-Picayune.*

DRUGS & YOUTH The Medical, Psychiatric and Legal Facts. Robert Coles, M.D.; Joseph H. Brenner, M.D.; Dermot Meagher. $5.95 at all bookstores

LIVERIGHT
386 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016

Who Fouled Up?

Sirs:

Permit me to comment on just two of several unfounded allegations in Howard Paster's article on nuclear energy ("Somebody Fouled Up," *NR* Oct. 31). Rep. Lester Wolff, according to Paster, has uncovered evidence of a "direct association" between AEC's Brookhaven National Laboratory and the Atomic Industrial Forum. The mole hill behind that mountaineous charge is that Dr. Victor Bond, associate director of the Laboratory, spoke at a Forum seminar on radiation and presented a scientific rebuttal to critics of radiation standards. The Forum thought his presentation was newsworthy and issued a press release; the Laboratory issued its own press release on Dr. Bond's talk, as it does frequently when Brookhaven scientists deliver papers. End of "direct association." Incidentally, the Forum has uncovered evidence of a "direct association" between author

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paster and Congressman Wolff; our dealings with Paster have been as administrative assistant to Wolff, and I think he should have been so identified in *The New Republic.*

My second comment concerns Paster's assertion that the nuclear energy industry is "unable to secure or pay for insurance for A-plants [and] enjoys a $500-million insurance policy at taxpayer expense." It so happens – and Paster knows this well indeed – that each nuclear plant is *privately* insurable up to a total of $82 million in liability coverage, at a premium cost of perhaps $250,000 to $300,000 per year per plant. In addition, the federal government *is pledged to indemnify* the public for up to $478 million, over and above the $82 million, in the event of a major accident, but for this coverage, too, the utilities pay a premium (or, in this case, a fee) and it in no way constitutes a burden on the taxpayer. The record shows that to date no loss has been paid nor has any liability claim been made due to the operation of a reactor, and for four consecutive years, the private insurance industry has refunded substantial portions of the nuclear industry's premiums because of this extraordinary safety record.

Paul Turner
Public Affairs Manager
Atomic Industrial
Forum, Inc.

Preposition Missing

Sirs:

There is a typographical error in "Getting the Lead Out" in your last issue (Nov. 21, 1970) which distorts the article's main point. The word "to" was omitted in the sentence "Substantial support for the fight against lead pollution has *to* come from the federal government, which so far, has shown inadequate foresight."

The omission gives the reader the impression that the government has fulfilled its duty to protect the public interest. In actuality, it has been co-opted by the oil industry into rubber stamping the industry's abuse of the environment.

James B. Sullivan
Albert J. Fritsch
Washington, DC

FRANCE UNDER DE GAULLE—1958-1969

An indispensable reference work on de Gaulle and the entire Fifth Republic period, from his return to power in 1958 to his dramatic resignation in 1969. All major foreign and domestic developments covered topically and chronologically for quick reference.

Just Published

Partial table of contents:

Foundation of the Fifth Republic
Algerian war and its Settlement
NATO and the French atomic striking force
France and the European Community
Relations with the Communist bloc and China
Domestic politics and the economy
May 1968 student-worker uprising

Texts and press conferences. 319 pages. Paperbound. Index. $3.95 plus 30 cents postage and handling.

An Interim History book by FACTS ON FILE, News Reference Publications.

ORDER FORM

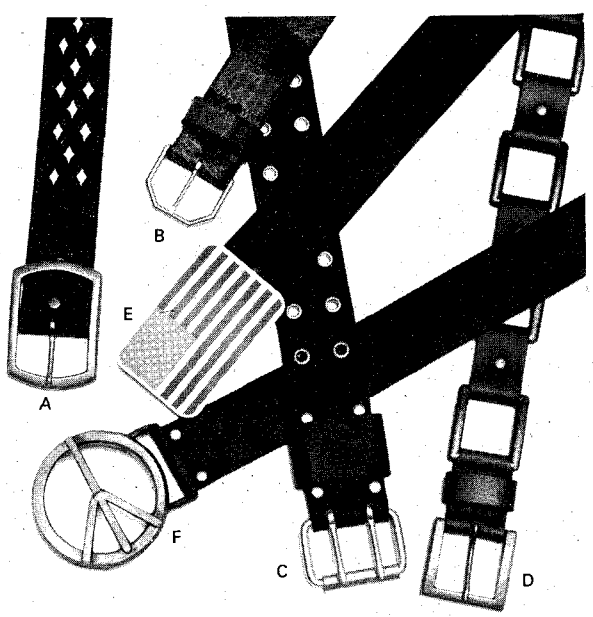
Facts on File, 119 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____ ZIP_____

Please send me ( ) copies of **France Under de Gaulle.**

Payment must accompany all orders except those placed by institutions and organizations. Publisher will pay postage and handling for all prepaid orders. Please add sales taxes.



join the revolution

The revolution in beltwear, that is. Now you can wear what you feel with these tooled leather belts from The Belt Works San Francisco. Crafted from the finest imported and domestic hides, each of these belts is tailored for spirit, as well as looks. Meticulously rubbed glove soft leathers make these the best belt buys available anywhere. Join the movement and eliminate the tired, worn and strictly functional belts of the past. Order yours today. Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back. Circle your choice of Black or Saddle Brown on the coupon to the right.

The Belt Works San Francisco

The Belt Works San Francisco
1841 Polk Street / San Francisco, California 94109

Belts	Sizes 28"-40"	Color	Quan.
A—Diamond Die-cut, $6.50		B/SB	
B—Snakeskin Patch, $18.50		Multicolored only	
C—Brass grommet, $7.50		B/SB	
D—Antique Brass Link, $12.50		B/SB	
E—Tri-color Flag, $8.50		B/SB	
F—Peace Belt, $7.50		B/SB	

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Add 75¢ for postage and handling. California residents add 5% sales tax.
BankAmericard No._____ Master Charge No._____
Signature_____ TNR1128
Check or Money Order enclosed for $_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kent State

Sirs:

As seniors at Kent State University, we would like to take issue with two points in your article "Kent State Gag" (November 7).

It was stated that "communications at Kent have never been better." Two examples of increased University telephone lines were given. At a university as large as Kent State, the complexity of communications deals with more than a telephone service. Communications have not improved substantially since May 4, and this is becoming one of the major grievances of students. In a communications study done under the Kegley Commission during the summer months, 17 recommendations were made on improving communications. None have been implemented. The first urged that President White maintain maximum exposure with all members of the K.S.U. community. He has not done so. . . . One may appreciate the attempts Dr. White has made to meet somewhat informally with small groups of students and campus organization representatives, but the majority of the student body urgently feels the need for him to be seen and heard publicly on the campus . . .

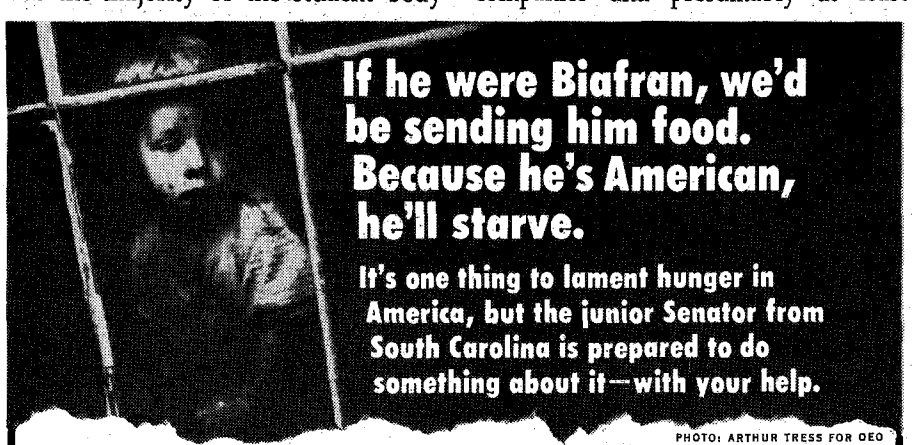
Our second point deals with your interpretation of the prevailing student attitude at Kent State. October 23 was designated as a day of moratorium for college students across the nation in support of the Kent 25. Your article commented that the size of classes on this campus was undiminished on that day. We would like to clarify for the concerned public that our student body president recalled the moratorium on classes on our campus as a result of administration disapproval. However, a noon rally on that day was attended by about 5000 concerned students . . .

Lauren J. Maser
Debby L. Segar
Kent, Ohio

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

production of *Hedda Gabler* with Claire Bloom.

Now only a small proportion of that $50-mil is going to be spent on legit, but there are already over 20 cassette companies and presumably at least


If he were Biafran, we'd be sending him food. Because he's American, he'll starve.
It's one thing to lament hunger in America, but the junior Senator from South Carolina is prepared to do something about it—with your help.
PHOTO: ARTHUR TRESS FOR OEO

THE CASE AGAINST HUNGER

A Demand for a National Policy

By Senator ERNEST F. HOLLINGS

"I was captivated by its contents, intrigued by your frankness, and informed by the vast amount of fact and detail it contained.... It provides rare insight into the legislative difficulties which have characterized the American effort to deal with malnutrition and poverty.... A critical document and a prime resource for all those committed to alleviating some of the pressing social problems in our land." — CHARLES U. LOWE, M.D., Scientific Director, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

Illustrated with photographs. $6.95

At all bookstores

Cowles Book Company, Inc.

488 Madison Ave., NYC 10022.

Teachers

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we invite you to consider using *The New Republic* in your classroom. As in years past, we offer you the opportunity of ordering this magazine at a special classroom rate for bulk orders of 10 or more. Each student's copy costs only 15 cents weekly if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. *Free desk copies are included for each instructor.* Copies are mailed from Washington, D. C., on Fridays, three days before *The New Republic* appears on any newsstand, so that your students are assured of receiving the magazine while the news and reviews are fresh and exciting.

Advance payment is not necessary. You need only notify us how many copies and how many issues you wish. Your bill will be sent later. Mail your order without delay to:

CLASSROOM DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some of the annual budgets of some of those companies will be spent on production of plays. The impact of that aggregate sum on the American theater *must* be epochal – economically and artistically. If plays (not films or TV specials) are going to be produced for potential national audiences, for the first time in history, this must affect theater employment rates and salary scales. If *Hedda Gabler* (for instance) is going to be available on a cassette in a good production, this must affect the resident theaters, which thrive on the standard repertory. And the hinterlands theatergoer who drives 50 miles to see the touring company of a hit may wait a year and rent the cassette for a $3 viewing in his living room.

I don't know the statistics of the effect of LP records on concert attendance. I do know that Roy Harris said the LP was to music what the printing press was to literature; moreover, though record sales are said to be down, the record catalogues are bulging and every symphony orchestra in the country is in money trouble.

Artistically, a lot hinges on how these plays are done. Does RCA mean *legit*, or does it mean films based on plays? Will *Hedda Gabler* be done as the filmed record of a play, or will it be adapted to the film medium? Do they really mean to bring *plays* on tape to millions of people? (It would seem so, because they make a distinction between doing legit and doing motion pictures.) Can the medium be used for successful film transcriptions of stage productions? (It hasn't often happened in the past.) Will this mean the development of a new subculture – plays as plays, on film? (Will theater schools offer courses in the direction of plays for cassettes?)

Unanswerable questions just now, but big. I don't foresee the death of the theater (from this cause, anyway!), which has withstood film, radio, and TV. For one reason among several, people can do plays for virtually nothing, which is not true of any electronic form. The theatrical impulse can pour out, if it wants to, without a lot of expensive equipment and, in one way or another, it will continue to pour. But the already-busy cassette industry is going to cause a lot of explosions. Film and TV have known it for some time. Now RCA has alerted legit.

"SENATOR CHARLES 'Three's-a-Crowd' Percy says he will sponsor a bill in the 92nd Congress to limit the number of income tax exemptions for children to two, because what with the population explosion and the pablum shortage two children per family should become 'a way of life in America.' Senator Dooley Mossback (I., Confusion), meanwhile, will propose legislation requiring the government to mind its own goddam business."

For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. U, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

Personals

SPIRO AGNEW PUNCHING BAG. Big 16" punching bag with Spiro's face centered for sock-it-to-him action. $2.00 ppd. SPIRO-BAG, Dept. A, P.O. Box 724, Chicago, Illinois 60690. Dealer inquiries invited.

NEW FUND-RAISING TOOLS Cassette tape tells you how to raise from $100 to $100,000. Compiled by professional fund-raisers. $5.95. National Action/Study Center, 1805 Pine, San Francisco, California 94109.

PEACE SYMBOL STICKERS — Make it YOUR Xmas seal! Glossy blue, self-stick. 100 for $1. PEACE, PLEASE! Box 551-P, Bronx, N. Y. 10471.

MANHATTAN PREGNANCY ADVISORY SERVICE. Abortion information, counselling and referrals to New York hospitals and hospital-affiliated clinics. Call (212) 288-4500.

HOW TO SUCCEED with fashion's new "Ethnic Look"? Do your thing with brilliantly embroidered blouses and dresses from Mexico. Traditional Indian styles at REASONABLE PRICES. Free Brochure. JUNIPER IMPORTS, BOX 22172, San Diego, California 92122.

HELP NAVAJO CHILDREN learn to read. Donate typewriters in good condition to experimental community school. Navajo Reservation, Dillon Platero, Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Arizona 86503.

FINEST QUALITY Personalized Stationery AT SPECIAL DISCOUNT

Outstanding social and professional writing papers beautifully imprinted with your name and address. Exciting rainbow colors-conservative whites. Send 25c (postage-handling) for big NEW IDEA-PACKED SAMPLE ASSORTMENT and Price List.

FAST PERSONAL SERVICE

JACQUES STATIONERY CO.
310 EAST 25th ST., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

"HAROLD HUGHES IN '72". Bumperstickers and buttons 4/$1; newsletter available. STUDENTS FOR HUGHES, Box 668, Los Angeles, California 90053.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31 St., New York, N.Y.

URBAN IMPACT REPORTS Sexual Impact of Black Ghetto and Nixon Welfare Plan $1.00—60¢ each. Spearhead Development Corp., Box 3315, Baltimore, Md. 21213.

DIACROSTICS by Janet Elliott Cameron. For those in love with words and language, 50 stimulating, aficionado-endorsed, interlocking literary puzzles. Worldwide fan mail tells us they're the most intriguing, challenging yet. Books #1 through #7 still available. Send $2.50 for each to Cameron & Co., 444 Market Street, San Francisco 94111.

THE GREAT PAPER PUT-ON. Instant peel-and-stick up make-believe furniture. Tiffany Lamp $4.25; Ring-up telephone $2.25; Gum-ball Machine $3.25; others—Send for brochure. Western General Store, Dept. B, 9818 S. 213 Pl., Kent, Washington 98031.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKTHROUGH—Perfect prints, 8 or 12 exposure rolls $2: 20 exposure, $3. Full credit unprintable negatives. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $2 and film or write for free mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception.—AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles 90036.

UNWANTED PREGNANCY?

We will act in your behalf to arrange an immediate, safe & legal abortion in a recognized & accredited NY hospital or affiliated clinic, & the cost is now reasonable. Absolutely no delays, no waiting. NY State residency not required.

THE ABORTION ADVISORY SERVICE
DIV. SPS CONSULTANTS, INC.
565 Fifth Avenue New York, N.Y. 10017
(212) 490-2190
10 AM to 10 PM. . . .7 DAYS A WEEK

What do Claudia Lipschultz, Bebe Posner, and Eileen Hodkinson have in common?

They subscribe to off our backs: a women's liberation bi-weekly

Why don't you?

off our backs
Box 4859 Cleveland Park Station
Washington, D. C. 20008

name: _____

address: _____

_____ zip: _____

subscriptions:
$6.00/year $13.00 overseas
$6.50 Canada $15.00 businesses

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"KEEP YOUR DISTANCE — I Don't Even *Know* You!" bumperstrip, 2/$1; 6/$2.50. Wry Idea, Rye, N.Y. 10580.

NAUTICALLY-INSPIRED GIFTS — Unusual and unique from the famous Mystic Seaport Stores. Send 25c for new, 4-color, R-2 catalog. Mystic, Conn. 06355.

SCIENTIFIC MEDITATION illumines the mind and guides creative thought to meet mankind's needs. Weekly training groups; correspondence courses. ARCANA WORKSHOPS, P.O. Box 5105, Beverly Hills, CA 90210.

HARPSICHORD—Completely new design six feet long with either one, two, or three sets of strings. Kits from $175; also completed instruments. Clavichord kit from $100. Write for free brochure. Zuckermann Harpsichords, Inc., Department P. 115 Christopher St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

BOOK OF 500 "Peace Now" STAMPS in full color showing peace symbol (vanilla flavored) only $1.00. Buy 2 Get 1 free. American Stamps, Box 2209-R, San Diego, California 92112.

SCHOLARLY PUBLISHERS: CUT PRINTING COSTS: Specialist Linotypes / Produces 100-2M paperbound periodicals, monographs, directories, etc. Thoughtful production / Impressive $avings. Contact: Unicorn Farm (NOT PUBLISHERS!), Gilbertsville, N.Y. 13776.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

AMPLIFY LOVE & MUSIC with legal, pleasant high. Indian herb. Brew like tea. Guaranteed. Quarter pound $8.50. Kilos $60. Check or M.O. Odyssey Imports, Box 145, Conway, Mass.

"MERRY CHRISTMAS!"—this year say it to the whole wide wonderful world (which sorely needs it) via our exuberant bumperstrip, 2/$1; 6/$2.50. (Also: "Happy New Year!") Wry Idea Co., Rye, N.Y. 10580.

SPIRO AGNEW WRIST WATCH. $14.95 plus 75¢ postage. NALLCO, Box 147, Mitchell, Indiana 47446.

WHAT'S YOUR BAG? Better Education? Court Reform? Pollution Control? Order two "Bags" community action know-how materials. $3.00 prepaid. American Association University Women, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

THE FUTURE IS THE CHILDREN. The potential is theirs—the opportunity is yours—to help a needy American Indian reservation child obtain an education and have a friend in the off-reservation world. $15 monthly. Write for brochure. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D.C. 20016.

GENUINE BUCKSKIN JACKETS and hundreds of unique leather items. Send 50c for buckskin money poke and big color catalog. Berman Buckskin Company, Minneapolis, Minn., Dept. 67, 55401.

Peace Personals

"PEACE TO ALL WHO ENTER HERE" Doorknockers and wall plaques—Send for free brochure of peace and ecology accessories for pad and id. Western General Store, 9818 S. 213 Pl., Dept. R, Kent, Washington 98031.

CHRISTMAS CARDS. Attractive blue and green self-mailer with dove-world design. Copy, "Making peace is a life style, Calming hearts and hatreds, Bringing Christ's forgiving peace, Building bridges of love and understanding—That's what Christmas is about." 10/$1.50, 25/$3, 50/$5, 100/$9. Christians for Peace, Box 206, Harrisonburg, Va. 22801.

PEACE IS PATRIOTIC BUMPER STICKERS, DECALS, POSTERS. Large dove-word design with Peace Is Patriotic. Bumper stickers—2/$1. Decals 6/$1. Posters 2/$1. Christians for Peace, Box 206, Harrisonburg, Va. 22801.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO text, record loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, DEPTNR, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

PEACE NOW—Official March on Washington materials—bumperstickers and buttons, 4 for $1.00; 25 for $5.00. PEACE NOW, Box 851, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Blvd., St. Louis Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

PEACE CHRISTMAS CARDS, 8/$1.00. Sample 25c. International McClelland, Dept. NR, Beverly Hills, 90210.

TINY, CERAMIC PEACE PINS. Handcrafted. Blue $1.25. Pins, Box 638, Saratoga, Calif. 95070.

"PEACE ON EARTH"
Hundreds are ordering our "PEACE ON EARTH" stationery at discount prices. Send 25c (postage-handling) for USEABLE samples—assorted Peace inscriptions—beautiful rainbow colors. A DELIGHTFUL SURPRISE awaits you! PEACE!
JACQUES STATIONERY CO.
310 EAST 25th ST., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010
FAST PERSONAL SERVICE

POSTERS (over 250, many anti-war), BUTTONS (over 200), BUMPERSTICKERS, PEACE JEWELRY & EARRINGS. Wholesale & Retail. Free Catalogue. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

Literature

QUEBEC IN CRISIS — A special upcoming issue of The Last Post, Canada's monthly left newsmagazine. One-year subscription $6 (cheque) to: Last Post, Box 98, Station G. Montreal.

LEO TOLSTOY'S ADVICE TO A DRAFTEE, printed and designed in limited edition of 2000, by Leonard Baskin. Written in 1899 to a young man faced with the alternatives of accepting military duty or refusing it, this booklet holds relevance today. Proceeds will be used towards furthering peace education. $10. Write American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 48 Inman Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

I'm RICHARD. I write BOOKS—publish myself—SAMPLERS 25¢. Want one? Richard Liebow, 948 Market, Room 512, San Francisco 94102.

POEMS WANTED FOR QUARTERLY PUBLICATION. Submit several. POETRY PAGEANT, Box 3677-RNB, Washington, D.C. 20007.

RARE BOOKS, MAPS: Extraordinary catalogue. $1.00 refundable. Box 3235, Santa Barbara, California 93105.

1971 Sierra Club Calendar $3.95. WHOLE EARTH CATALOG $3.25 postpaid. Saturday Booksellers, Dept. 47, 507 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10017.

LIVE in or near Washington DC? Follow local and national politics and arts in DC Gazette. Lively, provocative, entertaining. 10 issues: $1. 109 8th St., NE, DC 20002.

Authors

WRITERS — "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

WRITING HITCHHIKING ANTHOLOGY. Send stories. Paul Hogan, Phoenixville, Pa. 19460.

BEGINNING PLAYWRIGHTS — ATTENTION! "Plays are not written; they are rewritten." Script Analyzers, Inc. reads beginners' scripts and gives professional opinion on merits, defects, need of revision, and possibilities of production. Send for free information (do NOT send script) to: Script Analyzers, Inc., Box 764, New York, N.Y. 10022.

WRITERS SELL AN EDITOR before he reads your manuscript. Send for free booklet, catalogue. Writers Craft Systems, Box 181NRA, Narberth, Pa. 19072.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11001.

Schools

COED BOARDING SCHOOL COMMUNITY, 50 students, 15 faculty seeks students, grades 10-12 from all races, faiths, backgrounds in program combining experimental curriculum, thorough college preparation, social awareness, physical work, outdoor skills, and spiritual exploration. 400 acres wooded mountainside campus 85 miles from New York and Philadelphia. Related to Kirkridge Retreat and Study Center founded 1942. Write The School at Kirkridge, Box 32, R.D. #1 Bangor, Pa. 18013. 215-588-0954.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS—Specializing in difficult cases—undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate, dental. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900.

DO YOU TEACH? We suggest you enliven your class by using The New Republic. On bulk orders of ten copies or more to a single address, the cost per copy is only 15¢. Write to the Classroom Dept., New Republic, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Foreign Studies

OPEN THE DOOR TO A CAREER IN INTERNATIONAL service and education. International Career Training (ICT) is a one-year program for college graduates combining cross-cultural and organizational studies with a six-month internship abroad. Programs begin each June and September. For details write: Ted Covey, ICT Program, School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont 05301.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMER ON GREEK ISLAND: AEGINA ARTS CENTRE. Study painting, music, archeology, poetry, Greek Language and Literature, attend Music and Drama Festivals, dancing, bouzouki, the real sea and sun on unspoiled Aegina. One month sessions July or August: Tuition $250, travel arranged, write: John Zervos, c/o DePaul University, 25 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Can a RUSSIAN CHRISTMAS be the "WARMEST" time of year on a 2-week non-political exchange visit departing Dec. 19, or apply for spring and summer visits. Qualified participants, all ages, occupations eligible. Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR 11/70, 10 West 46th Street, NYC (LT-1-8113).

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142.

Property-Sale/Rent

ARE YOU A WRITER LOOKING FOR A SUMMER BEAUTY SPOT which is secluded but well-equipped? Am renting a five-bedroom, three-bathroom country home, with large stone fireplace, separate entrance to two bedrooms, over 100 feet of private lakefront, on a quiet lake near Pawling, New York (80 miles NYC). $1500 for season; shorter rental possible. L. E. Rack, Broker. Tel.: 914-855-3184.

PHILADELPHIA SUBURB, Tudor, 6 bedrooms, furnished. Mid-January—Mid-August 1971. $425 monthly. Professor Glickman, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 19041.

FRANCE, RIVIERA.—Renovated village house five miles inland near St. Tropez. 2 bedrooms, studio, roof terrace, all conveniences. $18,000. Colie, 1 Adams Road, Bloomfield, Connecticut 06002.

Employment Wanted

CARPENTRY, college student desires position as an apprentice. Anytime, anywhere January to September, 71. A. Howard, U. of Pennsylvania. 316 Magee, 37th & Spruce, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Appreciate any information.

Experienced ENGINEER interested in SOCIAL SCIENCES desires position with impact on SOCIAL PROBLEMS. 141 Cambridge, St. Paul, Minn. 55105.

Employment Opportunities

"HOW TO GET OVERSEAS JOBS" — Europe, Asia, Worldwide — Lists hiring organizations — 253 pages — $2.98 — Refundable. Staydrynr, Whitestone, N.Y. 11357.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Dept. N, Box 942, Belmont, California 94002.

EUROPEAN—FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT—Detailed report on currently available jobs—Europe, Australia, Africa. $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643—P Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

AUSTRALIAN HANDBOOK—1970 Edition—Describes Government assisted passage, employment opportunities, business, farming, teaching, etc.—plus forms and Employer's list $1.00. Buckeye, Box 1032 ND, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1971 Government Information and Forms—Most Complete Information Available—$1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

OVERSEAS JOBS. High Pay, Travel, Adventure. Directory of Over 100 American Firms Now Hiring for Overseas Projects. $1.00. TRANSWORLD, Box 90802-EE, International Airport, Los Angeles, California 90009.

Vacations/Travel

HEALTHFUL VACATIONING—Reducing. Fasting. Rejuvenation. Organic foods. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923-NR.

EAST AFRICA WINTER SAFARI. 21 sunny days Dec. 18-Jan. 7, including African culture, wildlife viewing, discussions, meeting people, photography. Brochure. Studytravel Dept. R, Friends World College, Westbury, New York 11590.

SHENANDOAH VALLEY FARM—Beautiful secluded, comfortable, year-round. Dixons, McGaheysville, Virginia 22840.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

U.S.A.—CANADA—MEXICO—Best places to eat and stay. Scenic routes, Parks Historic sights. Book, $2.95. Magnolia House, Dept. 267-NR1K, Folkston, Georgia 31537.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JFB, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Greenery

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalogue. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

Cookery

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes—Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

TIME-TESTED RECIPES plus Quaker Wit and Wisdom. THE POWELL HOUSE COOK BOOK, $3.50, 237 pp. Write: Powell House, Box 101(N), RD 1, Old Chatham, N.Y. 12136.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 711 79 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

WILD BERRY JAMS, ORGANIC HERB JELLIES. Write: Bob & Sue's Wild Jams, Box 255, South Otselic, N.Y. 13155.

Arts and Crafts

TRADITIONAL exquisite Chinese arts are all in a book with full-page-size color and black/white photos, is on sale. Send $2 to Hang Tai Art & Curio Company, 38 Cameron Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong.

CANADIAN INDIAN & ESKIMO Original Graphics. Limited Editions. Free Catalogue: GALERIEGRAPHIQUE III, 5947 Mountain-Sights, MONTREAL, 252, Canada.

SOUTHERN GRAPHIC ARTS CIRCLE—Contemporary originals from internationally acclaimed artists; the swinging South. Catalogue 25¢ handling. Route 1, Box 64, Micanopy, Florida 32667.

FINE HANDMADE CRAFTS—Ties, candles, ceramic windchimes, dresses, pot holders, dashikis. Free catalog. A self-help people's project. 915 Eleventh Street, Columbus, Ind. 47201.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

1971 CALENDARS, silk-screen printed by hand; 11½" x 35". Six designs, horizontal "Seasons," vertical "Tree," "Flowers," "Cattails," "Cats," "Sunburst." $1.50 each postpaid. Hank Kowert, Sherwood, Oregon 97140.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsh, Landau, Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

VAN GOGH COLORING BOOK—Drawings, letters. Joyous gift for children, adults, $2.95. Black Sun, Box 1741-NR, North Hollywood, California 91604.

Music

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

KITS: Build dulcimers, guitars, balalaikas, thumb pianos, harps. From $2.95. Finished dulcimers from $19.95. 8665 West 13th Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80215.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS—Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli, Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. Write SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 60c
Per word 6 times in one contract year .. 55c
Per word 12 times in one contract year .. 50c
Per word 24 times in one contract year .. 45c
Per word 48 times in one contract year .. 40c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Your $10 Christmas gift will provide up to $240 worth of meat, milk and bread for hungry families

On the back roads of Mississippi, Alabama and other parts of the deep South, there are thousands of families facing slow starvation. Right now. Right here in the U.S.A.

Their diets are so poor and so inadequate that hunger and malnutrition have become part of their lives. Many children have actually never known what it is like *not* to be hungry. Who are these families? Tenant farmers, field hands, seasonal workers . . . some with no income at all . . . living in old broken down shacks, spending winters huddled around fires trying to stay warm.

The NAACP Emergency Relief Fund is now in its third year of collecting money to buy Food Stamps for the neediest of these families. Under the federally sponsored Food Stamp Plan, 50¢ buys as much as $12 worth of Food Stamps. Thus your $10—an amount that buys "just another Christmas gift" for more fortunate kids — can mean $240 worth of urgently needed nourishment to help a family survive.

To contribute to this fund, please send as little or as much as you can to the NAACP Emergency Relief Fund. Contributions are tax-deductible.

Thank you. And may you have a joyous Holiday.

*NAACP Emergency Relief Fund**
Dept. E70, *Box 121, Radio City Sta.*
New York, N.Y. 10019

*A project of the NAACP Special Contribution Fund —tax deductible arm of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

MAR 13 1973

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED